

The Languages of Africa.

WITH few exceptions the popular exponents of the science of language have kept almost entirely to the broad, well-beaten track of Aryan philology. If they leave it at all it is to make a brief excursion into the Semitic or Turanian region. The boundaries of Europe and Asia are the limits of their survey. Very little is said of anything beyond them. The result is, that there is a widespread impression, and a very natural one under the circumstances, that much as it has accomplished for the Oriental and European languages, comparative philology has as yet done nothing for those of the rest of the world. Thus it is that, except among specialists, there are very few for whom the philology of Africa is not a blank. Yet even in this unpromising field much has been done, and perhaps, in view of the fact that all questions bearing on the languages of Africa have a very practical import for the new Catholic missions of the "Dark Continent," a few rough notes on this subject will not be without interest for our readers.

Considering how scanty are the materials, and how imperfect are many even of the available sources of information, much progress has already been made towards the ultimate classification of the languages of Africa. More than one great family of speech has already been broadly mapped out, though even where most has been done, much still remains to be accomplished in verifying results as yet only probable, and filling in details where the main outlines are well ascertained. The difficulties of African philology are very great, if only from the fact that most of the languages are still unwritten, and the only materials available for the study of many of them are vocabularies and phrases collected, often with very little system, by travellers whose primary object was exploration rather than philology. Missioners and residents have in some cases supplied the same material more abundantly and systematically. There are a few grammars of the native tongues, the work of men who went to Africa with such training as fitted them not merely to

make vocabularies, but to observe the forms of an unwritten language. Finally, in some instances, the popular traditions of a tribe have been patiently collected and written down in the words of the people. Thus Dr. Callaway has given us a valuable collection of the traditions of the Zulus in their own tongue. It is wonderful that with such incomplete materials so much progress has been made, and considering the conditions under which it was written, Dr. Bleek's *Comparative Grammar of the South African Languages* is perhaps even a greater monument of linguistic genius and industry than Bopp's *Comparative Grammar of the Indo-European Languages*. Bopp's work marked an era in philology in Europe; Bleek's, even though some of its conclusions be rejected, will one day be looked back to as marking a like epoch in the philology of Africa.

For the purpose of our rapid survey we must begin by dividing Africa into three broadly-defined linguistic regions. We are too apt to think of Africa as it were as one solid mass, because its outline is so little indented on our maps, but we should always remember that, notwithstanding the number and great extent of the oases, the sandy sea of the Sahara divides it into two parts, more completely severed from each other than Europe and Asia. The Africa of the negro lies to the south of this great wilderness, the Africa of the Arab and the Moor to the north of it. For our present purpose we must include in the northern region Egypt, Abyssinia, and the other countries lying along the western shore of the Red Sea. Thus all northern and north-eastern Africa falls into our first division. Our second division is formed by that part of Africa known as the Soudan, including most of the country between the Sahara and the equator. Thus we have in this division the countries of the Niger, the districts round Lake Tchad, and a great portion of the upper region of the Nile. Our third division includes all "peninsular Africa," if we may so name the huge wedge that contains the lofty plateaux of the centre, the mountain districts of the great lakes, the valleys of the Zambesi and the Congo, and our own southern colonies. Our three linguistic regions are therefore: (1) Northern and north-eastern Africa; (2) the Soudan, *i.e.*, Western and Central Africa; (3) peninsular Africa, *i.e.*, Central and Southern Africa, south of five degrees north latitude. Let us take a glance at each in turn. As all three include a large number of languages and dialects, we shall of course be able to notice only a few of their more striking features.

(1) The northern region has always been more or less in contact with the civilization of Europe and Asia, and was itself the seat of an early civilization from which both have borrowed not a little. Its languages are inflected and highly developed forms of speech. They belong to two great families, the Semitic, of which we may take Hebrew and Arabic as the types, and the Hamitic, of which the old Egyptian of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, and the more recent Coptic, are examples. Some scholars are inclined to fuse these two families into one, relying, amongst other arguments, on a large common element in the vocabulary, a similarity in the pronouns and in the use of them, and the free use of internal letter change in the inflections of both groups, and endeavouring to show that the Hamitic family consists of earlier offshoots from the same stock as the Semitic; but there are many difficulties in the way of this theory, not the least of which is that the Semitic roots are nearly all trilateral—that is, consist of three consonants, and are therefore dissyllabic, while the Hamitic roots are monosyllables. The party that supports this theory is accordingly in a minority, and more cautious students are content for the present to treat the Hamitic and Semitic groups as independent developments. The old language of Egypt is long since dead, and embalmed in the hieroglyphs of painted wall and papyrus roll, but its offspring, the Coptic, still lives in the liturgy of the Christians of Egypt, and may be said to be the most important of the later Hamitic languages. It was the common language of the Christians of Egypt up to the last century, when it gave way to Arabic, but it is not, as some have said, wholly extinct. Brugsch Bey found some families at Cairo who still spoke and wrote it. It has a historical interest as the language of many of the saints of the desert, but its chief importance arises from the fact that it has formed the second great key to the old inscriptions of Egypt. The Rosetta stone afforded the first when its Greek inscription enabled a European scholar to pick out the name of Ptolemy in its hieroglyphs. But once Young and Champollion had shown that the inscriptions contained not merely word-pictures or ideograms, but also alphabetical writing, it was necessary to know something of the old Egyptian language, and the Coptic, which, through older forms can be traced back to old Egyptian days, supplied this key. For the study of Coptic abundant materials were soon collected, its relation to the old Egyptian was thoroughly determined, and

we have now perfectly reliable grammars of the old Egyptian of the hieroglyphs. This is the greatest service which philology has done to our knowledge of the Egypt of the Pharaohs.

Along the northern coasts of Africa, in Tunis, in the villages of the Atlas, in portions of Morocco, and in the wide-spread oases of the Sahara, the Hamitic dialects known as the Berber languages are spoken. The name Berber is clearly only a weakened form of the old Roman "Barbari," and no tribe, with the doubtful exception of the Nubian Berâbra, accepts the name for itself. In Algeria they are called Kabyles (*qabail*, "the tribes") by the Arabs and the French, and the desert tribes are known as Tuaregs, or Tuariks. In Morocco they are called Shilluks. They call themselves Mazig, Amazigh, or Amazirgh, which means "the free," in the oases the word assumes the form of Imoshag: their language they call Ta-mazigh, or Ta-masight, that is, "the speech of the free." It is curious to contrast their own proud names with the common appellation of Berber, given to them by both Arab and European. All through Africa there is the same contrast between the native names of the nations and those applied to them by foreigners. It begins in the north, where the Mazig, the free tribes of mountain and oasis, are the "Barbarians" of the newer races: it ends in the south, where tribes calling themselves the Koi-Koin—*i.e.*, the men or the people, are the Hottentots or "unintelligible stammerers," of the Dutch and English colonists; while a common appellation of "Niggers" is applied indiscriminately to every dark-skinned race. These are trifles, but they tell something of the history of Africa. All the Berber languages are very nearly allied. They stretch from Nubia and the frontiers of Egypt to the Atlantic. Once a Berber language was spoken even in the Canaries, which, when first discovered by Europeans, were peopled by a strange race, the Guanches, whose mummies fill the caves of those islands. The Berbers of the Eastern Sahara, known as the Tédas, or Tibbu, are by some identified with the Temhu of the Egyptian inscriptions: in the monuments the Temhu appeared marked with a cross, and a tatoo of a cross is said to be still in use among some of the Berber tribes. This would give the Berber people an antiquity of several thousand years. But whether or not the Berbers of to-day represent the Temhu who contended with the Pharaohs, they are certainly the representatives of the Numidians, who were so often the terror of the Roman armies.

A third group of Hamitic languages centres round Abyssinia. To this group belong the Denkali spoken by the Danakil along the shores of the Red Sea; Somali is spoken in the district that projects as a sharp salient angle in the Indian Ocean to the south of Arabia; more inland lie tribes speaking the Galla languages; northward and eastward in the Nile region are languages more like the Berber, and others still unclassified. Indeed, all along the borders of this Eastern Hamitic region we find many languages whose position is doubtful, some suggesting that they are Hamitic, others placing them among the Negro languages of the centre. It is in these border lands of speech that the missionary may hope to glean some of the most interesting additions to our knowledge of the philology of Africa.

Before passing to the Semitic group we give a few specimens of the Hamitic languages. Here is the *Pater Noster* in the Shilluk or Tamashig of Morocco:

Amazeaghna Baba Erby, ghi y ginna :
berkat ysmanick :
yi hackem geegn tusked ougulleedn beherra.
Isker omornick ophodn doonit wi y ginna.
Fkee na nogh oghoromma oghaghossa Amazeaghna Erby :
Topp hur dnwbnogh zoond smahnogh yeadnim
elmochottyeen ðphalanoch :
Addam woortphilt en yeshem y allawur :
adonogh tiphkeet ogodn dnoot.
Amen, oghozont.

From the length of certain phrases it is easy to see that in some cases a periphrasis has to be employed. The word Amazeaghna occurring at the outset and in the fifth clause seems to indicate that the national name is used in some way to express "our;" if this is so, a catechist among the Amasig must have more than ordinary difficulty in explaining that "we are not to pray for ourselves only but for all others." *Baba*, the word used for *father*, the same as our childish *Papa* is used in many African languages.

We add a short vocabulary from some of the Eastern Hamitic languages, reminding the reader that in so limited a specimen the degree of resemblance between languages comes out very insufficiently, and also that in judging of such a resemblance grammatical structure is a higher test than mere verbal likeness.

	<i>Tibbu.</i>	<i>Somali.</i>	<i>Galla.</i>	<i>Denkali</i>
One	trono	k'ow	to-ko	inni-ké
Two	chew	lebba	lumma	lum-meh
Three	agozu	sud-dé	sed-dé	sud-dé-o
Ten	mordum	tubbam	kú-dum	thub-ban
Man	aaih	mingha	ná-má	ka-bunt
Woman	adi	maak-ta	né-té	ak-bo-eta
Father	—	abbai or ilba-á	abbo	ab-ba
Mother	—	oyú	bo-lé-sa or addír	yin-na
Sun	túggú	ghurrah	addu	ay-é-ro
Moon	aowrí	tai-yá	djé-á or ba-té	alsa or berra
House	—	féras	—	arré or bura

It will be noticed that there is a great difference between the Berber Tibbu and the three Eastern Hamitic languages, which lie very near each other. In these last the tendency for the elements of the word to preserve their independence is very marked, especially in the Denkali.

We now go on to the Semitic languages. First there is the Arabic, which has to be mentioned here only because it is the language of that conquering race which has set its mark the most deeply upon Africa. Arabic introduced from Asia by the Muslim invaders of the seventh century has spread over the whole of the north, all along the east coast to Zanzibar, and far into the interior. At this very time it is being propagated, together with the creed of Islam by Muslim missionaries in various countries of Central Africa. It has become the *lingua franca* of trade, and has even affected the negro languages, which have freely borrowed words and expressions from it. But still it is an Asiatic language, spoken only by those who come in contact with a race of conquerors and traders, and holding to the languages of Africa much the same relation as those European languages which have been introduced by traders into various parts of the Continent.

There is, however, a group of Semitic languages which may be claimed as belonging to Africa, though their remote connection with Southern Arabia is perfectly clear. These are the Ethiopic and its allied languages. The Ethiopic Gheez is the old language of Abyssinia, where it was spoken up to the fourteenth century. It now exists only in the liturgy and the scanty sacred literature of the schismatical Abyssinian Church. The Tigré, the Amharic, and other dialects spoken by tribes in Abyssinia or on its borders are offshoots from a Semitic language of which Gheez is the type. We add a short vocabulary in which these languages are compared with the Arabic:

	Arabic.	Amharic.	Tigre.
One	wâhed	aud	addé
Two	etnéen	quillet	killete
Three	telâta	sost	selaste
Ten	âsherah	assir	ashur
Man	râgel	wônd	saboi
Woman	marra, nissa	sét	saboite
Father	ab	abâté	âbbo
Mother	om	enaté	ânno, ânne
Sun	shems	tsai	tsai
Moon	kumr	tckerka	werhe
House	bayt	beit : or a-dé-rash	biet

It will be remarked that the word for "father" has much the same form (*ab*, *abate*, *abbo*, *abba*,) in the Semitic and the Eastern Hamitic languages. Through the monks of the East the word has come to us in the special sense of a spiritual father, the "abbot" (Latin, *abbas*), and in a wider application, the French *abbé*, the Italian *abate*.

II. We now enter upon our second region—the Soudan, or Western and Central Africa. Here it is that philology has accomplished least. Between this region and the last we note at the very outset this striking difference, that while the Semitic and Hamitic languages are inflected, that is, express shades of meaning and relations of words by internal change and by the addition of affixes which coalesce with the word, the languages of this second region are what is called agglutinative, that is, all the elements of the word retain their form unchanged and any particles added to it preserve their independence, and do not coalesce as mere inflectional terminations. We have here, therefore, a much lower form of speech. The region comprises two classes of languages, each containing several detached groups, whose mutual connection is not at all fully traced, so that the whole classification is provisional. We have in West Africa, and the countries of the Niger, extending thence through the Soudan to the northern margins of the region of the Great Lakes, a number of Negro languages, which have been roughly grouped together, but can hardly yet be called a class in any but a very loose sense. One of the most important of these groups is that of the Ewhe languages, which includes the language of Dahomey, the Odji or Ashanti, the Fanti, and the Ga of Accra. These languages are spoken on the Gold Coast and inland perhaps as far as the Niger, eastward lie the Hausa languages and the Nupe or Nufi, and westward the Mandingo, Felup, and Wolof groups. The whole class, such as it is, is estab-

lished on ethnological as much as on philological grounds. The other class of languages in this region is interesting from the fact that the origin of the race that speaks it is one of the vexed questions of African ethnology, a question the ultimate settlement of which will probably lie with philology. Along the northern borders of the true negro races between them and the Berbers, and sometimes pushed forward so as to separate two negro tribes, lives a race known as the Fulbe or Fulah, a negro word meaning "the Browns." They are a conquering dominant race, curly-headed, but with good features distinct from the negro type. Oscar Peschel, following Barth, says that "their language has much in common with the Hausa, but these resemblances have been borrowed in recent times. The names of the numbers, again, recall the prefix languages of Southern Africa, and the language as a whole is really akin to that of the Joloffers, who are true negroes." Peschel is inclined to think that the Fulahs are a mixed race between the Berbers and the Negroes. It seems to us that, if it were well established, the likeness of their language to that of the Joloffers would go far to substantiate this theory. These Joloffers or Wolof live on the West Coast between the Senegal River and the Gambia, and are only divided from the Berbers by the former of these rivers. They are thus the frontier race of the Negroes, and may some day be recognized as the common link between Berber, Fulah, and Negro.

III. In our third region—peninsular Africa—we find ourselves on firmer ground. We have here three groups of languages to deal with—(1) the Bâ-ntu, or Kafir family; (2) the Koi-koin, or Hottentot languages; and (3) the languages of the Bushmen. These last two may yet be classed together. The two races inhabit the south-west corner of Africa, the Koi-koin lying along the coast, the Bushmen more inland, in and around the region of the Kalahari Desert. They have been driven into this corner by the advancing tribes of the Kafir nations, and this within the last five hundred years. There are various scattered tribes throughout Africa at present a puzzle to ethnology, that perhaps belong with them to a nation broken up and chiefly driven to the south-west by the Kafir conquest. The two peoples, Bushmen and Hottentots, have one peculiarity common to their languages, namely, the use of a sound produced by pressing the tongue against the jaws or palate and suddenly withdrawing it, thus making a *click*. Of these clicks there are

several kinds.¹ In writing down words in which they occur, Europeans use a puzzling variety of symbols, and we have seen an old polyglot (from which we shall presently extract a Hottentot *Pater noster*) in which they are represented by a (?), as if the writer despaired of finding any sign for them. Of the Bushmen languages very little is known. They are a race of scattered hunters, and their speech differs widely, the peculiarity of a single family soon developing into a dialectic variety. The Hottentot, or Koi-koin languages, are a remarkable group: there are two chief dialects, the Nama, or Namaqua, and the ? Kora. Unlike all the other languages south of the Hamitic region, these languages possess inflected forms. This, coupled with the fact that the Koi-koin have certainly once lived much more to the northward, suggests an early connection with the North African races. Moffat was the first to point out in the Hottentot dialects some resemblance to Coptic, and Bleek, following up this suggestion, came to the conclusion that in many points the Koi-koin languages bore the marks of a Hamitic origin, and also contained some Semitic elements. But there is, on the other hand, a very weighty show of authority against this view, and it can only be ranked with those bold hypotheses that have sufficient foundation to call for further research, which even in exploding them adds something to our knowledge.

Peschel, in his *Races of Men*,² gives us some examples of the process of word formation in the Namaqua. The passage is worth quoting for the sake of a remark with which it concludes: "The Nama, and other dialects of the Koi-koin, attach highly abraded phonetic forms to the end of the roots. From *koi*, human being, comes *koi-b*, man; *koi-ti*, woman; *koi-i*, person; *koi-n*, people. We select this example that we may add that from *koi*, human being is derived; *koi-si*, kindly; *koi-si-b*, kindly man; *koi-si-s*, kindness. As many anthropologists

¹ Four varieties of clicks are usually enumerated: (1) the dental click produced by withdrawing the tongue from the upper front teeth; (2) lateral click, by withdrawing the side of the tongue from the side teeth; (3) guttural click, by withdrawing the tip of the tongue from the back of the mouth; (4) palatal or cerebral click, by withdrawing the tongue in a peculiar way from the roof of the mouth. In our specimen of Hottentot the first two clicks are denoted by a sign t? the two last by k? The clicks are used by some of the Bâ-ntu tribes, but only by those who have come in contact with the Hottentots. It is said that one of the Galla consonants is also a click, but this is not certain.

² The quotation is from p. 458 of the English edition. We have ventured to alter the translation of *koi-si-b* and *koi-si-s*, which are there represented by "philanthropist," and "humanity," though the translator uses the word "kindliness" lower down.

reproach primitive nations with the assertion that their languages contain no expressions for abstract ideas, or no word for God or morality, we take this opportunity of pointing out that the Hottentots, who were once placed in the lowest grade, possess this word for kindness."

The following is a *Pater noster* in Hottentot; we cannot say which dialect, but it will probably be either Nama or ?Kora.

Cita bô, t? homme inga t' siha,

t'sa di kamink ouna :

hem kouqueent see.

Dani hinqua t'sa inhee, k? e chon ki, quiquo t? homm' inga.

Maa cita heci cita kôua séqua bree.

K? hom cita cita hiahinghee quiquo cita k? hom cita dóna kôuna.

Tue cita k? chöä t? authummá.

K'hanta cita hi aquei k? douana. Amen.

It is easy to pick out many of the words of this *Pater noster*. *Cita* evidently answers to both *us* and *our*; *bô*, is *father*, suggesting to believers in Bleek and Moffat's theory the Hamitic *abbo*; *t? homm' inga* corresponds to *in Heaven*. The frequent repetitions in the *Pater noster*, and its well marked divisions, make versions of it the most intelligent specimens of uncivilized languages.

Turning now to the Bâ-ntu, or Kafir family, we find a large group of languages, the characteristic feature of which is the continual use of prefixes to form words and to mark their connection in the sentence.³ Thus in the south the prefix *Ma* indicates a person, the plural is *Ba*; *Ma-suto* means an individual of the Suto tribe, the plural is *Ba-suto*, the name that we give to the tribe, only that we make a double plural, and talk of the *Ba-sutos*. *Le* indicates the district of a tribe; *Le-suto*, is *Basuto-land*. Among the northern Bâ-ntu nations the prefix *U* has the same meaning, and we hear of *U-ganda*, *U-jiji*, *U-nyanyembe*, &c. The prefix *Ki*, in the lake region, means "in the manner of," to say that a man speaks the language of *Ugunda*, one says that he speaks *Ki-Ganda*, and so we hear of the *Ki-Ganda* language. In the south this prefix is softened to *Si* or *Se*, thus *Sesuto* is the *Basuto* language; *Setchuana* is that of the *Betchuana*. Europeans use these prefixes very loosely, especially in tribal names; thus we hear of the *Basutos* and the *Betchuanas*, and of the *Matabeles*, and *Ma-shonas*;

³ In one of the Zulu tales collected by Dr. Callaway a foreigner is introduced, and the fact that he is a foreigner is indicated by his leaving out all his prefixes.

and one tribe on the Zambesi is sometimes called by Europeans the Marotse-Barotse, which is just like talking of the nation of the Englishman-Englishmen. Among the Zulus many national names begin with Ama, which is a plural prefix. They call themselves the Amazulu, and the English Ama-nzegi (singular, Inzegi), or Amangisi. Their own language they call Isi-zulu. This liking for an initial vowel leads them to prefix one to many of the English words which they have adopted, and they frequently insert a vowel between our double consonants. Thus with the Zulus *bapitizesha*, is to baptize; gold is *igolide*; a priest, *umperisite*; an apostle, *umposile*; David, *Udavida*. The prefixes are used freely, both for word formation and for a kind of rudimentary inflection. Just as we add *-ness* to the end of an adjective to make an abstract noun from it, a Zulu prefixes the particle *ubu*. *Kulu*, is "great;" *ubukulu*, is "greatness;" and from *bi*, "bad," comes *ububi*, "evil." The prefix *isi* is used to form instrumental nouns from verbs, and also to express the act in general, or its result. Thus—

From *uku bamba*, to catch, we have *isi-bamba*, pincers.

„ *uku bala*, to write, we have *isi-bala*, writing.

„ *uku bonga*, to praise, we have *isibongo*, surname or name of praise.

Another series of prefixes conjugates the verb, and marks its different applications: *zi*, makes a verb reflective; e.g., *ukutanda*, to love; *ukuzitanda*, to love oneself; a suffix *na* marks reciprocal action, *ukutandana*, to love one another; we add a few forms of the verb *uku tanda*—

Indicative present *Ngi tanda*, I love.

„ emphatic *Ngi ya tanda*, I do love.

„ continual *Ngi sa tanda*, I still love.

Past *Nga tanda*, I loved.

Imperfect *Nga ba ngi tanda*, I was loving, &c.

It will be observed that the prefixes thus do the work of pronouns, adverbs, and tense inflections in other languages. The prefix has to be repeated according to certain rules before some or all the words of the phrase. We have in Basuto:

Ba-ntu ba-atle ba-molemo ba-lefatse ba-ratoa

i.e., Men all good the world are beloved,

or "All good men in the world are beloved." If the Basutos believe this, it says more for their charity than for their knowledge of human nature,—but as to the form of the phrase, this

repetition of the prefix is to judge from Dr. Callaway's Zulu books by no means invariable. Bleek has ridiculed it by suggesting an absurd English parallel, telling us that to say in Zulu "our large steamer is in sight, we love (or like) it," we should have to say something like the English "the steamer our-*er* which-*er* is a great-*er*, the-*er* appears, we love the-*er*." This is really a bit of exaggeration, and after all the Zulu repetition of the prefix is only an extreme case of that repetition of the formative part of the word which we see in the classical languages. Zulu and Basuto look strange to us only because it is the *prefix* that is repeated; we are quite used to the repeated *suffix* in Latin.⁴ When men laugh at the Kafir for his prefix, we have, contrary to the usual rule, an instance of unfamiliarity breeding contempt.

The name Ba-ntu applied by Bleek to these languages means simply *people*, as we have seen in the Basuto phrase. It is to be preferred to the term "Kafir languages," for Kafir is not a native word, but is merely the Arabic for an infidel, applied to the Zulus and other tribes by the traders of Zanzibar; there is a Kafiristan, *i.e.* Kafirland, in Asia also. The Ba-ntu region, beginning in the south-east of Africa, extends to about five degrees north of the equator, thus occupying all Peninsular Africa except the Hottentot and Bushman territory in the south-west corner. Thus the Ba-ntu languages, dialects of one common stock, are spoken through all the vast territories lying to the north of our South African colonies, throughout the districts of the Zambesi and the Congo, and the region of the great lakes, and along the coast of the Atlantic from the Hottentot country to Fernando Po, and the coast of the Indian Ocean from Natal to the Galla country. This is a fact of the utmost value for the development of our Catholic missions, some of the most important of which lie in the Ba-ntu region. Once the missionary knows thoroughly one of these languages, any other of them will be as easy for him to acquire as Portuguese or Italian is to a man who already knows Spanish. The following are short vocabularies of the Ba-ntu languages, corresponding to those we have already given for North Africa :

⁴ Take an instance from Livy—"Adversarium nacti sunt haud imparum Appium Claudium relictum a collegis ad tribunicias seditiones comprimendas." Five words in the first part and three in the second have a common suffix, but it would be foolish to ridicule the Latin construction by writing, "They found no unequally adversary in Appy Claudy who was lefty by his colleague to repression the tribunician agitation." But this is just what Bleek did for the Zulu in this instance.

LANGUAGES OF THE LAKE REGION.

	<i>Ki-ganda.</i>	<i>Ki-jiji.</i>	<i>Ki-nyassa.</i>
One	emu	mwé	kimodzi
Two	mbiri	wa-wiri	vi-wiri
Three	sato	wa-tatu	vi-tatu
Ten	kumi	wa-chumi	chi-kumi
Man	muntu	muntu	muntu
Woman	m'kazi	m'goreh	mkazi
Father	kitangi	data	atateh
Mother	n'yabo	mama	amai
Sun	njiwa	izuwa	udzua
Moon	mwezi	ukwezi	mwezi
House	nzu	umba	intlu

The next table contains the Swahili of the coast above Zanzibar and two of the southern dialects. We have thus a comparison between languages standing territorially very far apart :

	<i>Swahili.</i>	<i>Zulu.</i>	<i>Setchuana.</i>
One	moyyi	nyé	ñwé
Two	mbiri and mbili	bilé	peri
Three	tato	tatu	tharo
Ten	kumi or kumu	ishumi	leshomé
Man	mtu	indoda	monona
Woman	mtunke or mwana-mke	umfazi	mosari
Father	baba	baba	rara
Mother	mama	mamé	ma
Sun	jiwa	ilanga	letsatsi
Moon	mwezi	inyanga	nueri
House	niumba	intlu	ntlo

Naturally we find a much greater difference between Zulu and Swahili than between Swahili and the languages of the nearer districts of Uganda and Ujiji. Letter changes often obscure the identity of a word. Two is represented by *mbiri* in Swahili—the *m* (pronounced nearly like *um* but more lightly) is a prefix, the actually significant part of the word being *bili*. In Ki-jiji the prefix is *wa* weakened and softened into *vi* in Ki-Nyassa ; in both these languages the *b* has become *w*, and we have *wa-wiri* and *va-wiri*. In Zulu the prefix disappears, and the *r* becomes *l*; thus we have *bilé*, recalling the secondary Swahili form *mbili*. This preference of *l* to *r* is common in Zulu—e.g. "sugar" has been adopted from the English and changed into *isugile*. In Setchuana *b* becomes *p*, and we have *peri*, which looks very unlike its Ki-jiji cousin *wa-wiri*, but is essentially the same word for all that. It will be noticed that in all except the Ki-ganda the words for father and mother are variants of the familiar forms *papa*, *dada*, *mama*, the Ki-Nyassa *atateh* with

its *a* prefix being especially of the Ba-ntu type, and the Setchuana *rara* for father, showing a tendency to substitute *r* for *t* and *d*, which also appears higher up in the Setchuana *tharo* for Zulu *tatu* = three. Larger collections of words examined in this way have yielded results from which a complete law of consonant variation for the Ba-ntu languages has been deduced.

As a specimen of Zulu we take from Dr. Callaway's *Religious System of the Amazulu*, the following account which a Zulu gave of the impression produced by a missionary whose zeal was not equalled by his knowledge of the language :

Ku te ekufikeni kwamangisi kulo' mhlaba kwiti, kwa kqala umfundisi o ku tiwa ibizo lake Uyegana. Wa fika wa fundisa abantu, nokukuluma kwake ku ng' aziwa uma u ti ni na, e lal' endhle, e nga lali ekaya; kepa uma e bona umuzi a ye kuwo; nakuba ukukuluma kwabantu e nga kw azi, a kwitize njalo kubantu, ba ko'hlwe uma u ti ni na. Wa za w' enyuka wa beka en'la wa fumana abantu ababili—Ibunu nelau; wa bnya nabo labo 'bantu ba m kumushela. Sa kqala w' ezwa amazwi a tshoyu.

On the arrival of the English in this land of ours, the first who came was a missionary named Uyegana.⁵ On his arrival he taught the people, but they did not understand what he said: he used to sleep in the open air, and not in a house; but when he saw a village he went to it; and although he did not understand the people's language, he jabbered constantly to the people, and they could not understand what he said. At length he went up the country; and met with two men—a Dutchman and a Hottentot; he returned with them and they interpreted for him. We began to understand his words.

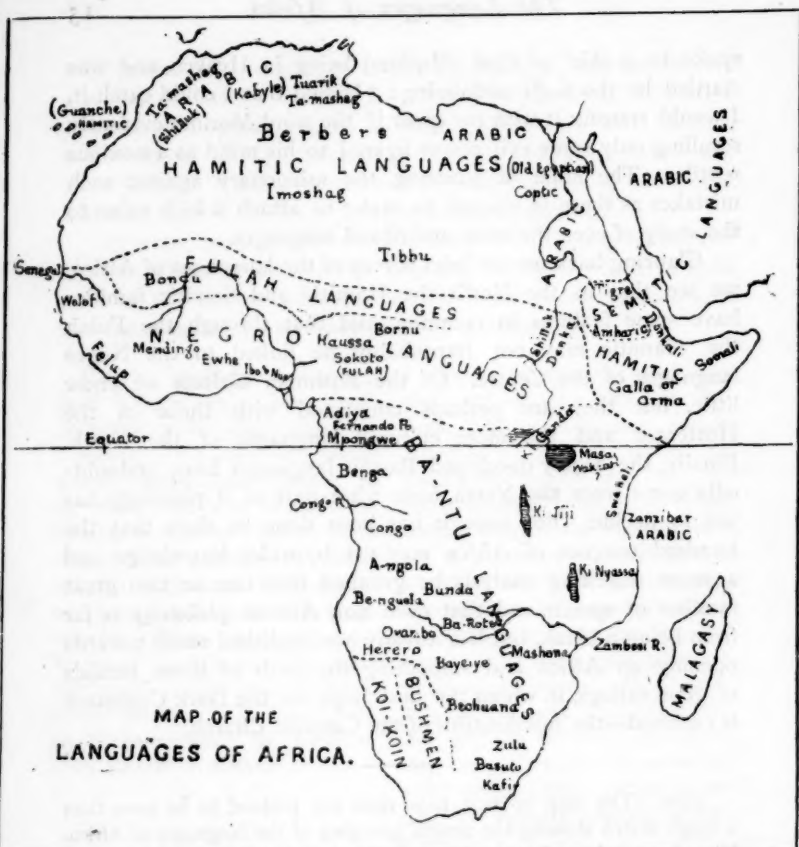
Commencing missionary operations before the language is well known is always very dangerous work. Dr. Callaway gives strong reasons for his belief that some of the names given to God by his fellow-Protestant missionaries in Africa are very inappropriate. One of them, Utikxo, appears to mean "broken knee" or "bent knee," and to be the *isibongo* or praise name of a national hero. Another name, Morimo, or Molimo, to the native mind conveyed, at least in some instances, the idea of a demon, worshipped to prevent his doing mischief. Moffat

⁵ Dr. Callaway makes no attempt to identify "Uyegana," perhaps the name was Higgins, perhaps Hughes, or anything else. The natives change names strangely—Sir Thomas Shepstone was always spoken of as Somsen by them. Europeans sometimes change native names as strangely. We have seen Cetewayo, the Zulu King, called Catchaways in an English newspaper.

spoke to a chief of God (Morimo) being in Heaven, and was startled by the Kafir exclaiming: "Would that I could catch it, I would transfix it with my spear;" the word Morimo evidently recalling only some evil power figured to his mind as a noxious reptile. The hope of guarding the missionary against such mistakes as these is enough to make us attach a high value to the study of even the most uncivilized languages.

Glancing back on our brief survey of the languages of Africa, we see that in the North the Hamitic and Semitic families have some features in common, and that through the Fulah the Hamitic may not improbably be linked to the Negro languages of the Centre. Of the Bushman dialects we know little, but they are perhaps connected with those of the Hottentot and the more cultured languages of the North. Finally, the highly developed Ba-ntu languages have undoubtedly come from the North, from what part of it philology has yet to decide. But enough has been done to show that the hundred tongues of Africa may yet by wider knowledge and a more searching analysis be grouped into one or two great families of speech, and that even now African philology is far from being a blank, but has already accomplished much towards opening up Africa and smoothing the path of those heralds of good tidings, in whom the best hope for the Dark Continent is centered—the missionaries of the Catholic Church.

Note.—The map on next page does not pretend to be more than a rough sketch showing the general grouping of the languages of Africa. The boundaries of classes are marked in dotted lines. These boundaries are only approximate, and in one case, that of the southern boundary of the Fulah region, all that is indicated is that some such boundary exists. The names in the Negro region are those of *minor groups* of languages. In the southern Ba-ntu districts it would be more correct to mark Sesuto, Setchuana, Isizulu, &c., but the ordinary tribal names are given as these are commonly used for the languages also by Europeans. In the north-east of the same region the Masai and Wakuafi are placed among the Ba-ntu, but some class them with the Fulah. Their tribal names are certainly of the Ba-ntu type, but perhaps these are not their own but the names applied to them by their Ba-ntu neighbours. In the south the districts named as those of the Bushmen and Hottentots roughly indicate the region where the main mass of these peoples is found. The Malagasy of Madagascar can hardly be called an African language. It belongs to the Malay or Polynesian group.



I. Northern Region.	1. HAMITIC Languages.	(a) Old Egyptian Coptic. (b) Berber languages. (c) Galla, Somali, Denkali, &c.
	2. SEMITIC Languages.	(a) Arabic (widely diffused in Africa). (b) Ethiopic { Tigré. Amharic.
II. Western and Central Region.	3. FULAH Languages.	Between Berbers and Negroes.
	4. NEGRO Languages of the SOUDAN.	Wolof, Felup, Mandingo, Ewhe, Haussa, Bornou, and other detached groups.
III. Southern Region.	5. BA-NTU Languages.	(a) Zulu, Basuto, Bechuana, &c. (S.E.). (b) Swahili, Ki-nika, Ki-ganda, &c. (N.E.). (c) Mpongwe, Benguela, &c. (W.).
	6. KOI-KOIN Languages.	! Kora, Namaqua (Hottentot).
	7. BUSHMAN Languages.	Numerous dialects.

. In all three regions there are various unclassified languages and dialects.

*Prince Metternich.*¹

PART THE FOURTH.—MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (1809—1815).

ALTHOUGH, as we have seen, Metternich was perfectly clear as to his own purposes in arranging the Imperial marriage, he did not feel quite so certain about Napoleon's designs in demanding the hand of an Austrian Archduchess. Was he going to sheathe the sword, and build up the future of France on the principles of order at home and peace abroad? Or was it his object to use Austria as a stepping-stone towards the realization of his dream of universal conquest and dominion? Deeming it of paramount importance to procure a speedy and decided answer to these interesting questions, Metternich got himself appointed by the Emperor to accompany his daughter, the new Empress, on a special mission to Paris. He was welcomed on his arrival in the French capital with visible tokens of satisfaction by Napoleon, who in proof of his good will and as a mark of his special favour, proposed to Prince Schwarzenberg and Metternich "to abolish the mediatization of their families and enrol them as sovereign members of the Rhenish Confederation," a proposal which their official position forbade either of them to accept.² During his stay in Paris, which from four weeks, as originally intended, was eventually prolonged to six full months, Metternich was favoured by the Emperor with long confidential conversations, in which the latter frankly unfolded his views. This was exactly what Metternich wanted. He longed to raise

¹ *Memoirs of Prince Metternich.* Vols. I. and II. (1773—1815) and Vols. III. and IV. (1816—1829). Edited by Prince Richard Metternich. The Papers classified and arranged by M. A. de Klinkowström. Translated by Mrs. Alexander Napier.

² We have for uniformity's sake, given somewhat prematurely the title of Prince to Metternich, who at this period of his life was only a Count. In compensation to the Metternichs for the Lordships of Winneburg and Bilstein ceded to France by the Treaty of Luneville, the Emperor of Austria had bestowed upon them the Imperial Abbey of Ochsenhausen, which carried with it the title of Prince of the Holy Roman Empire. This is how the title came into the family in 1803.

a corner of the curtain which hid the future of Europe from his sight. Fearful, however, of hampering his freedom of action by too close an intimacy, he was careful, he says, to maintain an attitude of reserve in presence of the attentions, which none knew better than Napoleon, how to heap on those from whom he expected to derive advantage. He parted from the latter at St. Cloud in October, 1810, convinced that the object of his stay in Paris had been attained. The results of his observations in the French capital will be best given in the summary report he made of them to the Emperor Francis.

During the year 1811 the peace of the Continent of Europe will not be disturbed by any fresh attack of Napoleon's.

In the course of this same year Napoleon will join his own forces, greatly strengthened, with those of his allies, in order to deal a great blow at Russia.

Napoleon will begin the campaign in the spring of 1812.

Therefore the Imperial Government must employ the next year in improving the financial position, which cannot be prolonged; the quantity of paper-money now in circulation must be lessened, on the one hand, whilst, on the other, the means must be found for equipping and setting on foot a formidable army for the campaign of 1812.

The position to be taken by Austria in the year 1812 must be that of an armed neutrality. The fate of Napoleon's undertaking, in any case a very eccentric one, will give us the direction we shall afterwards have to take. In a war between France and Russia, Austria must take up her position on the flank of the belligerents, which will ensure a decisive importance for her opinions during and after the struggle.³

³ The report to the Emperor Francis given in the text seems to have been a verbal one, for the written report was not drawn up till January 17, 1811. The latter, a somewhat lengthy but very clear statement of the position, will be found among the documents appended to the autobiography. It, also, shows that Metternich's reiterated appeals to conscience were not always a mere trick of speech. Witness the following extract: "Only two possibilities therefore remain: Austria actively allied with France and Austria's neutrality. *An alliance of the military forces of Austria with those of a Power, whose exclusive design is the destruction of the present order of things*, and whose plans aim at universal dominion would be a war on sacred and immutable principles in opposition to the direct interests of Austria. The peculiar characteristic of Austria's position is the moral height, from which the most adverse circumstances ought never to dislodge her. Your Majesty is the central point, the only representative remaining of an order of things hallowed by time and resting on eternal unchangeable right. All eyes are fixed on your Majesty. There is in the character you are called upon to support that which nothing can compensate. On the day when Austrian troops are found marching by the side of the French armies and taking part with them in a war of destruction, your Majesty will have laid aside that character. Morally we should sink, in that case, to the level of the confederates; politically, we should fall into all the faults committed by the Russian Cabinet. To such a part we could only be compelled by the absolute impossibility of acting otherwise."

So persuaded was Metternich, that Napoleon having lost his head over the Russian campaign was about to run it up against a stone wall, and that the game was consequently in the hands of Austria, if only she had the patience to wait for the turning of the tide to step in with decisive effect, and so rigidly did he adhere to the attitude of patient expectation he had assumed, that not even the tempting offer of a fresh alliance with Russia could move him from it. Bent on securing for Austria elbow room amongst the nations abroad, and time for the recruiting of her financial and military strength at home, he did little more in his external relations than turn to good account the influence he had formerly acquired at Berlin, to draw still closer the relations now existing between the King of Prussia and his own Sovereign. How thoroughly this Fabian policy of "masterly inactivity" was justified by subsequent events, and how fatal it proved to the modern Hannibal will soon be, if it is not already, ancient history. In the meantime events were passing as Metternich had predicted. The year 1811 saw France and Russia busy preparing for war. Prussia in the deepest depression was endeavouring to stir up German feeling by means of the *Tugendbund*. Austria was in appearance occupied exclusively in healing the wounds inflicted on the Empire by the last war. The armies of the Confederation of the Rhine had joined the French *Grande Armée*, to which were attached Spanish, Portuguese, Polish, and Italian contingents. The power of Napoleon pressed heavily upon the whole Continent of Europe, which, as Metternich observes, presented to a general looker-on not the appearance of a calm before a storm, but the sad spectacle of a general humiliation of princes and peoples under the load of an inexorable fate.

The approach of 1812 at last called for a declaration from Austria of her intentions in the coming war between France and Russia. She declared for an armed neutrality, but was obliged by Napoleon to give him the support of an auxiliary army thirty thousand strong—a demand which the Emperor Francis complied with, on the understanding that the neutrality of Austria was not to be violated by either of the belligerent powers. "All history," continues Metternich, "has not recorded so strange a political situation, and it probably never will record a second example of the same kind." But Metternich was satisfied, for what he wanted above all was freedom for Austria to act, when the hour for decisive action should

have struck. Circumstances again brought Napoleon and the Austrian diplomatist together, in the spring of 1812, at Dresden, where the former was making his final preparations for the campaign about to open. From his confidential interviews with the French Emperor, Metternich came away confirmed in his previous impression, that Napoleon was indulging in the most dangerous delusions about his chances of success. "My enterprise," said the Emperor, now deprived of the hope he had reckoned on, that the Emperor Alexander would take the initiative and attack the French army, instead of baffling it by a retreat, "is one of those, the result of which depends upon patience. Victory will attend the most patient." And then he went on to unfold his plans thus :

I shall open the campaign by crossing the Niemen. It will be concluded at Smolensk and Minsk. There I shall stop. I shall fortify those two points, and occupy myself at Wilna, where the chief headquarters will be during the winter, with the organization of Lithuania, which is burning with impatience to be delivered from the yoke of Russia. I shall wait and see which of us tires first ; I, of feeding my army at the expense of Russia ; or Alexander, of supporting it at the expense of his country. As for myself, I may perhaps spend the most inclement months of the winter in Paris.

When Metternich ventured to ask him, what he would do if Alexander did not think fit to make peace because of the occupation of Lithuania, Napoleon answered :

In that case I shall wait another year and then advance into the very heart of the Empire ; I shall be as patient in 1813 as I shall have been in 1812 ! The affair, as I have told you, is a question of time.

But Napoleon did not, we know, adhere to this plan. He made the desperate attempt of accomplishing in a single campaign a task for which he had intended to allow two whole years, and the ill-fated Russian Expedition became to him the *va banque* of the gambler intoxicated with success. He hazarded his all on a single throw, and he lost. In the meantime it had required all Metternich's prudence to keep his country from drifting prematurely into war. But he stood firm, and to the urgent entreaties addressed to him by the Prussian party in Germany, both before and during the Russian campaign, for the active interference of Austria, he turned an inexorably deaf ear. Indeed, there can be little doubt that if, when the war broke out, Austria had adopted any less purely passive

attitude, she would have had once again to face Napoleon, without adequate means, on the old battlefields of her exhausted territories, instead of surviving to behold his power all but annihilated on the icy steppes of Russia. Immediately after that catastrophe, Prussia, which had been obliged by Napoleon to take an active part with him against Russia, now entered into a hearty alliance with the latter Power. But Austria, still held well in hand by her sagacious Minister, who knew, as others less wary were soon to learn to their cost, that the power of Napoleon was broken, but not destroyed, by the miscarriage of his last undertaking, was in no such hurry to take sides. Metternich perceived, that to execute his cherished scheme of an armed mediation with decisive effect, he must wait yet a little while longer. So, whilst France with her allies on the one side, and Russia with hers on the other, were getting ready to renew hostilities in the spring of 1813, the Austrian army, under the command of Prince Schwarzenberg, was moved up and massed, from political and military considerations, in Bohemia. The Emperor Francis left it to Metternich to say, when the moment had arrived for making the announcement to the belligerents, that Austria had thrown off her neutrality, and for calling upon them to acknowledge and accept her mediation. Napoleon's victories at Lützen and Bautzen told Metternich that the hour had come.

Indeed, there was now not a moment to lose. The Russian army, already much demoralized by defeat, had but one wish—to get back into its own territory; and any hesitation on the part of Austria would give the Russian monarch a pretext for bringing the war to a conclusion. On the other hand, to take part in the war without sufficient forces to be able to keep the field independently of the disheartened Russian and Prussian armies would be, Metternich thought, to stake all on the chances of a single battle; and yet Napoleon might at any moment, in pursuance of his well-known tactics, leave an army of observation in front of the Allies, and, turning his attention to the Austrian forces, deal them a crushing blow in Bohemia. This was the moment chosen by Metternich to step in between the combatants, as the representative of armed mediation. That he played his part with consummate judgment and skill is admitted on all hands. He had in the first place to overcome the personal bias of the Emperor Alexander against himself, and to meet the difficulties presented by the political and military

attitude of Austria. This he did in an interview at Opocno, on the borders of Bohemia and Silesia, June 16. The Emperor, estranged for the moment from Metternich, as well on account of the marriage of the Archduchess with Napoleon, as by the decided refusal of Austria to enter into a secret treaty of alliance with Russia in 1811, suspected him at this time of leaning altogether to the side of France and of entertaining a strong prejudice against Russia. The Emperor, moreover, himself always passing backwards and forwards from one extreme to another in his political conduct, admitted of no mean in the conduct of others. Unable, therefore, to understand the middle course adopted by Austria, he insisted on being informed then and there of the ulterior intentions of that Power. But Metternich was not the man to allow his hand to be forced, and whilst professing his readiness to lay the whole plan before the Czar, held out no hopes that he would relinquish it, or even make any substantial change in it. He urged the absolute necessity of the mediation, and pressed for a formal acknowledgment of it by the Emperor of Russia.

"What will become of our cause [asked the latter] if Napoleon accepts the mediation?"

"If he declines it," I answered, "the truce will come to an end, and you will find us among the number of your allies; if he accepts it, the negotiations will most certainly show Napoleon to be neither wise nor just, and then the result will still be the same. In any case, we shall have gained the time necessary to bring our armies into such positions, that we need not again fear a separate attack on any one of them, and from which we may ourselves take the offensive."

After more than one conversation of several hours' duration, the patient firmness of Metternich, who never bated a jot of his demands, triumphed in the end, and the Emperor having been prevailed upon to lay aside his distrust of Austria and accept her mediation, the Austrian Minister parted with him June 20, well pleased with the prospects of the Allies and free from anxiety about the future.

From Opocno Metternich went straight back to the Emperor Francis at Gitschin, whence, on a pressing invitation from the Duke of Bassano, he hurried off to Dresden. The French Emperor's anxiety for a meeting with Metternich was proof to the latter, that Napoleon did not feel strong enough to break openly with Austria. The appearance of the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs created no little commotion at the French head-

quarters. Anxiety, weariness of war, and eagerness for peace, were visible in the faces of the crowd of men in uniform who were assembled in the waiting-rooms of the Emperor. As Metternich passed through them on his way to the reception, the Prince of Neufchâtel (Berthier) whispered in his ear: "Do not forget that what Europe wants is peace, and that France especially will have nothing but peace." Here follows in the Memoirs the story of the famous encounter between Napoleon and Metternich, a scene it would have done their old fencing-master's heart good to witness.

Napoleon waited for me, standing in the middle of the room with his sword at his side and his hat under his arm.⁴ He came up to me with a studied calmness of manner, and inquired after the health of the Emperor. His countenance, however, very soon grew dark, and standing in front of me he addressed me in these words:

"So you, *too*, want war; well you shall have it. I have annihilated the Prussian army at Lützen; I have beaten the Russians at Bautzen; now you want your turn. Be it so; the rendezvous shall be in Vienna. Men are incorrigible; experience is lost upon you. Three times have I replaced the Emperor Francis on his throne. I have promised always to live in peace with him; I have married his daughter. At the time I said to myself, 'You are perpetrating a folly;' but it is done, and I live to regret it."

This introduction doubled my feeling of the strength of my position. I felt myself, at this crisis, the representative of all European society. If I may say so, Napoleon appeared small in my eyes.

War and peace, was the dignified reply, the fate of Europe, her future and Napoleon's own, all lay in his Majesty's hands. The world required peace. To secure it he must reduce his power within bounds compatible with the general tranquillity, or he must perish in the struggle.

"Well, now, what do they want me to do?" said Napoleon, sharply; do they want me to dishonour myself? Never! I shall know how to die; but I will not yield one hand-breadth of soil. Your sovereigns, born to the throne, may be beaten twenty times, and still go back to their palaces; that cannot I—the child of fortune; my reign will not outlast the day when I have ceased to be strong, and therefore to be feared. I have committed one great fault in forgetting what this army has cost me—the most splendid army that ever existed. I may defy men, but

⁴ Capefigue states, on the authority of Metternich, who, he says, gave him, at Johannisberg in 1839, a *résumé* of this memorable scene, that the doors were locked, and that when, in the violence of his emotion, Napoleon dropped his hat, Metternich stooped to pick it up for him.

not the elements ; the cold has ruined me. In one night I lost thirty thousand horses.⁵ I have lost everything except honour and the consciousness of what I owe to a brave people who, after such enormous sacrifices, have given me fresh proofs of their devotion, and their conviction that I alone can rule them. I have repaired the losses of the past year ; only look at the army, after the battles I have just won ! I will hold a review of it before you !

To Metternich's rejoinder, that it was that very army which clamoured for peace, Napoleon answered with warmth : "Not the army, no ! my generals wish for peace. I have no generals left. The cold of Moscow has demoralized them. I have seen the bravest of them cry like children. They were physically and morally broken. A fortnight ago I might have concluded peace ; to-day I can do so no longer. I have won two fights ; I shall not conclude peace." When Metternich observed that his words were a proof of the impossibility of an understanding between Europe and his Majesty, Napoleon took him up again :

"So you think to conquer me by a coalition ? Why, how many are there of you allies—four, five, six, twenty ? The more you are, the better for me ; I take up the challenge. But I can assure you," he continued, with a forced laugh, "that we shall meet next October in Vienna ; then it will be seen what has become of your good friends, the Russians and Prussians. . . . If you declare your neutrality, and hold to it, I will consent to negotiate at Prague."

When Metternich firmly insisted that the Emperor Francis had offered the Powers, not his neutrality, but his armed mediation, Napoleon interrupted him with a long digression on the possible strength of the Austrian army, a subject on which he showed that he had but very imperfect information. To establish the truth of his statements, Napoleon took his visitor into his private study and showed him the lists of the Austrian forces as they were daily sent into him. A whole hour passed in this useless discussion, and on their return to the reception-room Napoleon again reverted to the Russian campaign. He returned so frequently to this topic, that hours were wasted on it and other subjects wholly irrelevant to the matter in hand. "It (the Russian campaign) was a hard test," he said, "but I have stood it perfectly well." Having listened to him for half-an-hour on this subject, Metternich interrupted him.

⁵ But what of his losses in men ? It has been said, that the object of Napoleon's visits to the scene of action, after a battle, was to ascertain not so much his loss in men as in horses.

"Fortune," I said, "may play you false a second time, as in 1812. In ordinary times armies are formed of only a small portion of the population; to-day it is the whole people that you have called to arms. Is not your present army an anticipated generation? I have seen your soldiers; they are mere boys. Your Majesty has the feeling that you are absolutely necessary to the nation: but is not the nation also necessary to you? And if this juvenile army that you levied but yesterday should be swept away, what then?"

When Napoleon heard these words he was overcome with rage, he turned pale, and his features were distorted. "You are no soldier," he said, "and you do not know what goes on in the mind of a soldier. I have grown up on the field of battle, and a man such as I am does not concern himself about the lives of a million of men."⁶ Saying, or rather shrieking, these words, he threw the hat, which he held in his hand, into a corner of the room.⁷ I remained quite quiet, leaning against the edge of a console between the two windows, and said, deeply moved by what I had just heard, "Why have you chosen me to say this to within four walls? Let us open the doors, and let your words ring from one end of France to the other. The cause which I represent will not lose thereby."

Recovering his self-possession, Napoleon walked up and down the room, picked up his hat from the floor, and resumed in calmer tones: "Everything," he said, "confirms my idea that I have made an unpardonable mistake. When I married an Archduchess I tried to weld the new with the old, Gothic prejudices with the institutions of my century; I was mistaken, and I, this day, feel the full extent of my error. It may cost me my throne, but I will bury the world beneath its ruins." The conversation lasted from a quarter to twelve to half-past eight in the evening.

It was already quite dark. No one had ventured to come into the room. Not one pause of silence interrupted this animated discussion, during which my words on six distinct occasions had the full weight of a formal declaration of war. It has not been my intention to reproduce all that Napoleon said to me in the course of this protracted interview. I have dwelt only on the most striking points in it, bearing directly on the object of my mission. We wandered away from it twenty times over; those who have known Napoleon, and transacted business with him, will not be surprised at that.

⁶ (Note by Metternich). I do not dare to make use of the much coarser expression used by Napoleon.

⁷ Thiers speaks of two hundred, not a million of lives, makes no mention of a coarser expression, and of the Emperor's hat says: *Il jeta ou laissa tomber son chapeau, que M. de Metternich ne ramassa point.*

When Napoleon dismissed me, his tone had become calm and quiet. I could no longer distinguish his features. He accompanied me to the door of the reception-room. Holding the handle of the folding-door, he said to me, "We shall see one another again!"

"At your Majesty's pleasure," was my answer; "but I have no hope of attaining the object of my mission."

"Well, now," said Napoleon, touching me on the shoulder, "do you know what will happen? You will not make war on me."

"You are lost, Sire," I said, quickly; "I had a presentiment of it, when I came; I go away with the certainty of it."

In the ante-rooms I found the same generals, whom I had seen on entering. They crowded round me to read in my face the impression of nearly nine hours' conversation. I did not stop, and I do not think that I satisfied their curiosity. Berthier accompanied me to my carriage. He seized a moment when no one was near to ask me, whether I had been satisfied with the Emperor. "Yes," I answered, he has explained everything to me; it is all over with the man."

Thus ended the memorable interview, of which Napoleon, speaking that same evening to those about him, remarked: "I have had a long conversation with Metternich. He held out bravely; thirteen times did I throw him the gauntlet, and thirteen times did he pick it up. But the glove will remain eventually in my hands." One more meeting with Napoleon Metternich had on the eve of his departure from Dresden, at which the French Emperor at last came in to Metternich's terms, and not only accepted the armed mediation of Austria, but consented even to the prolongation of the armistice between the French and the Russo-Prussian armies from the middle of July to the 10th of August. The gain of this last point was of scarcely less importance than the first. His previous conversation with Napoleon had raised a doubt in Metternich's mind, whether it would not be desirable to obtain the delay of a few weeks, in order to bring the different corps of the Austrian army up to their greatest possible effective strength. Having, therefore, ascertained, within thirty-six hours of his stormy interview with Napoleon, from Prince Schwarzenberg, that a delay of twenty days would add seventy-five thousand men to the strength of his army, Metternich bent all his efforts to the obtaining of the required respite. This was no easy matter; for Napoleon must have been making very much the same calculation as his enemies. How, in the first place, were two monarchs, suspicious as Napoleon and Alexander, to be brought to accept the delay? They were both of them chafing with

extreme impatience—the one, because he knew his very existence was bound up with Austria's decision, the other, because he thought himself under the necessity of immediate action, in order to keep his dissatisfied and defeated army to its obedience. There was, moreover, the difficulty of supporting the Russo-Prussian army, during the interval, in an already exhausted province, and to supply its wants from the resources of Bohemia and Moravia would be counted a violation of neutrality on the part of Austria, and expose her to the danger of that sudden attack by Napoleon on the side of Bohemia Metternich had so much dreaded. These were the chief difficulties Metternich set himself to encounter and overcome. His efforts were crowned with complete success. He forced the armed mediation of Austria upon the French Emperor, and obtained the coveted delay of twenty days into the bargain. This is how he managed.

For three whole days after Metternich's first conversation with Napoleon—every day lost by the latter was so much gain to the former—no allusion seems to have been made to the object of the Austrian Envoy's mission to Dresden. The French Emperor, however, was once again attempting to outwit Metternich as he had outwitted Prince John Liechtenstein at Vienna in 1809. But he was not dealing this time with an unsuspecting bluff old soldier; he had to do with the sleekest and sliest of diplomatists, quite capable, as Napoleon found to his cost, of turning the tables on his wily adversary. When at last Napoleon thought fit to revert to the object of Prince Metternich's visit, he referred him to the Duke of Bassano, and Bassano, in his turn, again pleaded want of instructions from his master, and recommended patience. But Metternich's stock of patience was already exhausted. For having on the evening of the last day of his stay at Dresden received from the French Minister for Foreign Affairs a written *Projet d'arrangement*, which had no bearing whatever on the demands of Austria, Metternich answered the communication by a polite intimation of his intention to leave Dresden forthwith. His carriage was already at the door, when a note from Bassano informed him, that the Emperor desired to speak with him before his departure, and would receive him at eight o'clock in his travelling dress.

I had the horses taken out of my carriage, and gave notice that the hour of my departure was postponed. I repaired at the appointed time to the Marcolini Garden, where I found Napoleon walking up and down. Here a conversation took place which baffles description.

Napoleon's first words were: "So you are pretending to be offended. What for?" I answered briefly, that my duty required me not to lose time at Dresden. Napoleon then went over the text of the *Projet d'arrangement* sent me by his Minister, and concluded by saying that he rejected it. "Perhaps we shall understand each other, you and I by ourselves. Come into my study, and let us try to come to some agreement." When we had got into his private study, Napoleon asked me whether there would be any objection to the presence of Bassano; every negotiation, he urged, should have its secretary, a part he desired to entrust to his Minister. He rang the bell and sent for Bassano, who made his appearance immediately.

We sat down at a little table, on which the Minister had placed the necessary writing materials. "Formulate the articles," said Napoleon, "as you wish them to be." I limited my demands to the following declarations:

1. The Emperor of the French accepts the armed mediation of the Emperor of Austria.
2. The Plenipotentiaries of the belligerent Powers will meet the Plenipotentiaries of the mediating Court at a conference to be held at Prague on the 10th of July.
3. The 10th of August shall be fixed as the last day of the negotiations.
4. All military operations to be discontinued till that day.

After this statement of my demands, Napoleon said: "Put them in writing; I will add my approval." Never, surely, was business so important settled in so short a time.

There still remained one difficulty with respect to the fourth article, namely, that the armistice of the French with the Russians and Prussians ended on the 20th of July, and to prolong it till the 10th of August was futile, unless Napoleon consented to the removal by Austria of her embargo on the exportation of provisions from Bohemia and Bavaria into Silesia. "He who wills the end, wills the means," argued Metternich, echoing Napoleon's own words. "Will your Majesty give me the assurance that the removal of the prohibition on the Silesian, Bohemian, and Moravian frontiers will not be considered as a breach of her neutrality by Austria?" "I give it you," answered the Emperor, "without the least hesitation." An hour after this last conversation with Napoleon Metternich left Dresden. They never met again.

Every arrangement was accordingly made for furnishing the necessary supplies to the Russian and Prussian armies in Silesia. In the meantime, the Plenipotentiaries of Austria, Russia, and Prussia had made their appearance at Prague at the appointed

hour. The Duke of Vicenza alone (Caulaincourt), Napoleon's First Plenipotentiary, was found to be behind his time. When at last he did arrive, he came without any credentials, but insisted, nevertheless, on taking part in the conferences. Metternich, however, announced his firm determination not to open the negotiations before the arrival of the credentials of the French Plenipotentiaries. "The Emperor, your master," he said to Caulaincourt, "is too well acquainted with the necessary formalities to have omitted to furnish his Plenipotentiaries with their credentials unintentionally." A fortnight passed, and still no letters of credence came for the representatives of France. Then at length, Metternich, familiar with Napoleon's tactics, determined to treat the non-arrival of the credentials as a breach of the truce. What he had predicted to the Emperor Alexander had come to pass. "If Napoleon declines our mediation," he had told the Czar, "you will find us in the number of your allies; if he accepts it, the negotiations will most certainly show Napoleon to be neither wise nor just, and the result will be the same. In any case, we shall have gained time." All the time they needed had now been gained for the allies by Metternich's patient skill, and the insincerity of Napoleon had been, besides, clearly established. The die was cast, and the fate of Europe was once again left to the decision of arms. At midnight of August 10, Metternich dipped his pen in the ink to declare war against Napoleon, and order the kindling of the beacons, which were to be the signal for one hundred thousand of the allied troops to cross the frontier.

I had the passports prepared for Count Narbonne, in his capacity of Ambassador for the Imperial Court, and I put the finishing touch to the Emperor's war manifesto. These documents I despatched as the clock struck twelve on the night of August 10. Then I had the beacons lighted, which had been prepared from Prague to the Silesian frontier, as a sign of the rupture of the negotiations and the right of the allied armies to cross the Silesian frontier.

Capefigue speaks in more than one of his political sketches of the electrical effect produced by Metternich's despatch on the Allied Sovereigns, gathered together with their Ministers, Nesselrode, Pozzo di Borgo (who loved to describe the scene in after years), and Hardenberg, in a barn on a rainy, windy night, and waiting with anxiety to learn the result of the negotiations at Prague. When at last a courier brought Nesselrode

the letter announcing the final determination of Austria, and her accession to the coalition with an army of three hundred thousand men, their joy was inexpressible; they fell into one another's arms and embraced, as if Napoleon was already overthrown and Europe saved. Twenty thousand copies of this or a similar war manifesto, the draft of which had been drawn up by Metternich and thrown into shape by Gentz, were subsequently printed and circulated far and wide. One of them was even posted up in Paris and brought by Savary to Napoleon, who exclaimed: "No one but Metternich can have concocted this document; talking of the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, is a thorough piece of cunning. It could only enter the head of a man who knows France as well as he knows it." Speaking of this celebrated manifesto, Ancillon wrote to Gentz: *Vous avez parlé comme le ministère autrichien a agi; voilà votre plus bel éloge.* Indeed, in all his long political career, Metternich never knew a prouder moment than this, when, by his consummate skill, delicate *finesse*, immovable firmness, patience, and perseverance, he had at last succeeded in confronting the oppressor of Europe with an army which, if it did not actually exceed, can scarcely have fallen short, all told, of a million of the finest soldiers in the world. However little reason there may be for Metternich's habitual self-laudation under other circumstances, it is surely justified on the present occasion, and the reader of the Memoirs will, therefore, hardly feel disposed to quarrel with him, if his private letters at this period show him to us indulging his natural vein, flapping his wings and crowing himself hoarse with self-satisfaction. We find him, for example, writing to the Abbé Höhn, October 3, 1813, in the following Cromwellian strain:

Heaven has blessed our undertaking; Heaven helps us because we help ourselves, and in a short time it will be with French tyranny as with the cedar of Lebanon. The springs of Napoleon's power are broken. The gigantic edifice totters to its ruin: without a general even the best army cannot make war; and the army of Napoleon is no longer an army. Our strength is augmented threefold, our resources are renovated and invigorated; his are old and shattered: we go slowly, because we go surely. We wish for no temporary action; we aspire to a thorough cure. No heroic, but sure measures; and, if God give me life and health, I will carry on the work to a successful end; on this point have no fear. The worst is past. It is now a question of perseverance and determination to follow the straight path, and we possess the requisite perseverance and determination.

Some days before this Metternich had written to his father :

Our affairs are going on well, and that upon a very large scale. Europe will be saved, and I flatter myself that in the end no little merit will be attributed to me. God has endowed me with patience and strength. . . . It was not without a purpose that I desired, before undertaking the great work, thoroughly to know my enemy and our strength. The former I know better than any one in Europe,⁸ and I have brought the latter to a point which none would have believed it capable of attaining after so many years of defeat and misfortune. It only remains to find the moment when it will be possible to undertake the thing without excessive risk. I have prepared this time by the armistice of June 4, and I have attained it by the boldest blow possible, by a prolongation of the armistice by twenty days, which I have taken on myself to stipulate in the name of the Powers, without saying a word to them ; for, with their knowledge, the thing would have been impossible. The results have justified my calculations. The Russian and Prussian armies have come up in time to cover the north of Bohemia and fix the attention of Napoleon on the left bank of the Elbe. Blücher and the Prince Royal have had time to be ready ; they have remained far enough off to oblige Napoleon to divide his forces into three parts. The latter has been everywhere beaten, and one cannot but estimate his loss, since the opening of the campaign, at more than one hundred

⁸ The publication of O'Meara's *Memoirs of St. Helena*, is the occasion, in his correspondence, of some additional remarks by Metternich on the character of Napoleon, which may be found interesting, and in which amongst other things, he makes the assertion, that he knew Napoleon much better than Napoleon knew him. "I have just begun to read O'Meara's work," Metternich writes August 15, 1822. "In what Napoleon has said to his wretched biographer there is a blending of great and little, true and false, but always with a background, in which the relater's motives are evident. The book contains none of those conversations which Napoleon held when he meant to treat a question thoroughly. The characteristics of the great man are, however, very well set forth, especially for those who knew him. O'Meara did not know him ; O'Meara believed in him, and a man like Napoleon is rightly estimated only when we do not believe in him. In turning over the leaves of this book, I often meet my own name. The more evil I find said of me, the more I like it. According to my own conviction, Napoleon never knew me, still less divined me. The reason is a very simple one. Napoleon was the man in all the world who most despised the human race. He had a strange aptitude for discovering the weak sides of men ; and all passions are weak sides or produce them. He loved none but those who had strong passions or great weaknesses ; he judged the most opposite qualities in men by these defects. In me he encountered a calmness which must have been the despair of a man who founded his calculations on the passions. Hence, he denied the existence in me of every quality bearing on pure reason or which is reason itself. I have often smiled involuntarily in Napoleon's presence, when I remarked that he judged me falsely. Therefore I knew Napoleon much better than he knew me. Seven years of resolute study suffice to know a man who is frank and open, especially so in the case of an observer who does not allow himself to be put out of the way by any feeling of fear or awe." Again, in a letter written a few days later, Metternich reverts to the subject thus : "I am still reading O'Meara's book. Good God ! How the poor devil has been imposed upon. The story of the understanding come to between

and fifty thousand men and three hundred guns. His army is entirely demoralized. His men are dying of hunger and fatigue. Ours are in capital condition, and animated with a rare spirit. Two days ago I saw whole battalions crying out with impatience at not seeing the French army come down from the mountains. We are about to become vigorous once more, and God will crown the end of this holy enterprize. Napoleon has no more reserves, and we have more than two hundred thousand men. . . . All Prussia is under arms, and all Germany will soon be so.

Even supposing Napoleon's losses since the opening of the campaign of 1813 to have been as heavy as Metternich estimates them, though he had no reserves to fall back upon, and his men were dying of hunger and fatigue, they had strength enough left in them to fight a little while longer against fearful odds and to deal their enemies some terribly hard knocks, before the Allies had seen the last of them. Once more Metternich writes exultingly, this time to his daughter Mary, from Töplitz, less than three weeks before the Battle of Leipsic.

Everything shows that the hour has struck, and that my mission of putting an end to so many evils is brought to a point by Heaven's

Napoleon and the Emperor Francis about the escape from Elba is good. Nevertheless, I fancy I am listening to Napoleon; he has often tried to palm off that sort of story upon me. I used to let him talk on till he had done, and then contented myself with saying: '*That is false.*' Then he would look at me, burst out laughing, and say: '*Sono bugie per i Parigini.*' What a book I could write, if I had every evening written down all the nonsense I had heard during the day. I see, too, that Napoleon very much regretted the loss of his *Signor Dottore*. What an apt subject for a writer of romance to practise upon! In short, Napoleon was a very little man with a very grand character. He was as ignorant as a sub-lieutenant generally is; a remarkable instinct supplied the place of knowledge. With his mean opinion of men, he never had any fear of going wrong. He ventured everything, and gained thereby an immense step towards success. Throwing himself upon an immense arena, he amazed the world and made himself master of it, whilst others cannot even get so far as to be masters of their own hearth. Then he went on and on, until he broke his neck. He ended as he must have ended, and he has been judged as men always are judged by the multitude when it undertakes to pass judgment on those who succeed in over-awing and mastering it. As the legitimate ruler of a small state, he would never have been heard of, except as an enterprising sovereign. As a military commander in any country whatever, as an administrator wherever the storm of revolution had passed, his powerful nature would always have pushed itself to the front. In the situation in which his lot was cast, he must have played the part he actually did play, and which no man of consistent principles could have ventured to undertake." Whilst on the subject of Lives and Memoirs of Napoleon, it may be well to place on record Metternich's very favourable opinion of the *Mémoires de Bourienne*. This is what he has to say about them in a letter to his eldest son, Victor: "If you want something to read, both interesting and amusing, get the *Mémoires de Bourienne*. These are the only authentic memoirs of Napoleon which have yet appeared. The style is not brilliant, but that only makes them all the more trustworthy."

decree. Napoleon thinks of me continually, I am sure; I must appear to him like a conscience personified. I told him everything and predicted everything at Dresden; he would not believe me, and the Latin proverb, *Quos Deus vult perdere dementat*—you can make Victor translate—is verified.

But it is only fair to Metternich to say that, if he was loud in his own commendation, there were others no less eager to trumpet his praises to the world, as will be shown by the following extract from a hitherto unpublished Memoir by Gentz, a friendly critic, but a by no means blindly bigoted admirer of Metternich's.

Every one acknowledges now that he (Prince Schwarzenberg) was exactly the man required to moderate the passions of some, control the jealousies of others, and to bring into harmony the views and plans of three Sovereigns and half a dozen generals, supported like Barclay, Wittgenstein, Benningsen, Kleist, and others, by a long and brilliant reputation. The wisdom and firmness with which Prince Schwarzenberg conducted his operations, without ever yielding to the clamours of the multitude or the importunities of the great, is another victory, and the true foundation of all the others. The *éclat* of the services rendered by their general greatly reflected on Prince Metternich, to whom belongs the merit of having designated him for the chief command and of having supported him against malcontents and detractors. But for M. de Metternich, Prince Schwarzenberg would not have accepted or kept the chief command; so that the same Minister who has been the soul of all the political combinations, has also directly ensured the success of the military operations. He has even followed personally all the movements of the army, and is always found at the side of Prince Schwarzenberg during an action.

There is nothing very surprising in the presence on the field of battle of such a fire-eater as Prince Bismarck, who ran up a score of twenty-eight duels at the University of Göttingen; but though wanting neither in moral nor physical courage,⁹ Prince Metternich, who had nothing of the soldier about him, was essentially a man of peace. Nevertheless, we find him at the side of the allied Sovereigns throughout the sanguinary

⁹ In a private letter dated January 24, 1821, he relates the following story about himself. "I am not," he writes, "accessible to fear; I know no other fear than the fear lest I should mistake what is good and right. One night a thief, or perhaps a murderer, got in at my window and stood by my bed; he thought I slept, but I had my eye on him. I allowed him to come nearer, but loosened my sheets so that nothing might be in my way. One jump and I stood up, seized him by the throat, threw him out of the window, and lay down again. 'He or I,' was my thought. That is logic in business as with robbers. This adventure happened in 1811."

Battle of Leipsic, which has been called the battle of giants, which the Germans love to designate as "the victory of the nations," and which Prince Metternich describes as "the greatest event of modern times." Besides the day when he signed the declaration of war against France in 1813, there were two other dates he was particularly fond of reverting to in after years—these were the 15th of August and the 18th of October. Of the first he writes in 1823 :

For some years this day was to me always signalized by an explosion of Napoleonic temper; the blows of the great Exile of St. Helena either fell on me, or were dealt to some one in my presence. Years have passed away since those now famous days, but the power of the date is still so fresh, that on each return of it past impressions come back so forcibly, that I feel as if I were once again placed in the position in which I then found myself, so much against my inclination.

On October 18, 1819, we find him writing in these terms of the Battle of Leipsic :

This day six years ago the fate of the world was decided. Napoleon would, however, have been as entirely lost without the Battle of Leipsic as he was after it. But this day enlightened the world, and will always be looked upon in the annals of history as the turning point of that memorable epoch, showing the beginning of a new era. The hand of God was armed with twenty nations to subdue one man, who, to master a people which he had placed above all other peoples, had put himself above all other men. My soul was never more filled with holy reverence than during the course of that long day, which I passed among the dead and dying. Yet peace was in me and around me. Napoleon could not have had a similar feeling; that day must have been to him a foretaste of the Last Judgment. . . .

I have often told you that in writing I follow the impulse of the moment; and to-day I feel this, for I fancy that I hear the din so strikingly described as "the roar of battle," that sound which was called forth by the clashing together of the strongest forces of modern times. The Austrian army alone had on the 18th shot off sixty thousand cannon balls, and since this army represented only a third of the assembled powers, one may venture to assert that on that day more than three hundred thousand cannon balls must have been fired off. Then if we reckon twelve to fifteen million musket shots, and the whole distributed in the space of ten hours, some idea may be formed of the noise made by the fall of a single man.¹⁰

¹⁰ "On the 18th of October, 1813 [Metternich writes in another place], at eleven o'clock in the morning, I went, in attendance on three Monarchs, to the place chosen by Prince Schwarzenberg as the most suitable point for himself and the Sovereigns to watch the battle, and I did not leave this point of observation till the end of that

But to go back a little way. The diplomatic triumphs achieved by Metternich at Dresden and Prague were, if anything, the beginning rather than the end of his difficulties. The still harder task now lay before him of bringing the coalesced Powers, with conflicting interests on all but one point, to work in harmony; and in particular he had to control the headlong impetuosity of the Russian Emperor, whose constant restiveness required a greater command of temper and more delicate management on the part of Metternich than he had displayed, even in his late diplomatic encounters with Napoleon. After the dissolution of the Congress of Prague, the allied Sovereigns met at Töplitz to establish the bases of the Quadruple Alliance, and agree upon a plan for the conduct of the war. Amongst other arrangements, the chief command of the allied armies was bestowed, at the instigation of Metternich, on Field-Marshal Prince Schwarzenberg. But the Allies had hardly crossed the frontier, when the Emperor Alexander sent for Metternich to inform him that a new arrangement was indispensable, as he had decided to place the conduct of the war in the hands of General Moreau, under himself as generalissimo. Metternich answered him at once and firmly, that such an arrangement was obviously inadmissible, and that if insisted on it would entail the immediate withdrawal of Austria from the alliance. After a long pause, during which he seemed lost in thought, the Emperor at last broke silence, saying: "Well and good, we will postpone the question, but I make you responsible for all the mischief which may result." Two days after this Moreau was mortally wounded at the side of the Emperor Alexander by a cannon ball from a battery erected, it is said, under Napoleon's personal direction. When the Czar met Metternich the next day, he said to him: "God has uttered His judgment; He was of your opinion."

Metternich's next difficulty with the impracticable Czar had reference to the plan of the campaign for the invasion of France. The Emperor Alexander was at this time greatly under the influence of Laharpe, who had imbued his Imperial pupil with many of his own speculative opinions, and being himself a Swiss by birth was anxious, that the allied armies bloody day, about six o'clock in the evening, when I returned with them. . . . Knowing the religious feeling of the three Monarchs, we may be sure that they ascribed the victory of the day to the Disposer of events, with truly thankful hearts; but that on the news of the victory of October 18th, they fell down on their knees, on the hill from which they had watched the battle, is only a poetic embellishment."

should keep clear of Switzerland, where their presence might produce popular manifestations fatal to the political existence of the new Cantons. He, therefore, persuaded Alexander, that that part of the contemplated plan of operations, which involved the passage of the Rhine at Schaffhausen, should be given up as a breach of Swiss neutrality, although it had been ascertained that the Allies would be well received, and indeed hailed as deliverers by the Confederate Cantons. Ultimately the Czar gave way and consented to the proposed plan of operations, but only on the understanding that permission to cross the bridge of Basle should be obtained. The allied troops crossed according to the original plan, they were joined by those of the Confederation, and both everywhere met with the most favourable reception. It fell to Metternich to inform the Emperor of Russia that the event, which he had pronounced impossible, had really taken place.

The Emperor was much agitated by the news; when he had collected himself, he asked how the army had been received. "Amid cheers for the Alliance, your Majesty. The Confederate troops in a body have joined our flag, and the people came in crowds from all sides to bring provisions to the army, for which we paid in ready money."

I could easily read in the Emperor's features the conflicting feelings which this news excited. After a longer pause, he took my hand and said: "Success crowns the undertaking; it remains for success to justify what you have done. As one of the allied Monarchs I have nothing more to say to you; but as a man I declare to you, that you have grieved me in a way that you can never repair."

I remained quiet, and replied to his Majesty that my conscience did not reproach me, because his glory was as dear to me as the great cause, which was his as well as that of all Europe.

"You do not know how you have grieved me," said the Emperor hastily. "You do not know the peculiar circumstances of my position."

The source of the Emperor's annoyance was his sensitiveness about his honour; for besides expectations held out to Laharpe, Jomini, and others, he had given an express promise to his sister, the Grand Duchess Marie of Weimar, that he would never allow the allied armies to enter Switzerland. He soon, however, gulped down his disappointment, and added: "The thing is done now; it is good from a military point of view; so then let personal considerations yield to the common good."

Still more startling and embarrassing was the personal position he took up at Langres, when the Coalition was brought face to face with the question, what was to be the future dynasty or form of government in France after the expulsion of the French Emperor. The overthrow of Napoleon seemed inevitable. A peace, which would have thrown him back upon the old boundaries of France and deprived him of districts conquered before he came to power, would have been only a ridiculous armistice, and would have been at once repelled by him. There remained, therefore, only three possibilities—the recall of the Bourbons, a regency till the majority of Napoleon's son, and the nomination of a third person to the throne of France. But the Czar thought he saw a fourth way out of the difficulty, better than any of the three just mentioned. His plan was to summon an assembly of deputies, and leave the form of government and the selection of a ruler to them. To Metternich's very natural objection, that to call upon the French nation to deliberate would be to run the risk of once again unchaining the revolution, the Emperor replied with much warmth, that the argument might have force, if the allied Sovereigns did not hold in their hands the power by which revolutionary movements are restrained. "We are in France," he added, "and our armies are numerous: they will intimidate the agitators." And then he went on to unfold his views in the following strain :

The deputies of the nation will only have to give their opinion on two questions—namely, the form of government and the selection of a ruler. The Republic is at an end. It has fallen by its own excesses. The Prince whom the nation will give to itself will have less difficulty in establishing his authority. The authority of Napoleon is broken, and no one will have anything more to do with it. A more essential point will be to direct the Assembly aright. I have in readiness the man most suited for this, most fitted for an affair, which would perhaps be impossible to a novice. We intrust the direction of this matter to Laharpe.

In vain Metternich demonstrated the false position such a plan would place the French people in, that, namely, of a nation called upon to deliberate in the presence of seven hundred thousand foreign bayonets; and what was a stronger argument from his own point of view, he urged its futility, with the legitimate King of France already on the spot. To Metternich's mind there was only one choice possible, and he, therefore, held to the

restoration of the Bourbons, not only as an article of his political creed, but also from the conviction that the revolutionary spirit had been thoroughly crushed by Napoleon, and that, however eager to get rid of their existing ruler, with his ruinous ambition and endless wars, the French really preferred the monarchical to every other form of government.¹¹ At last, authorized by his sovereign to go the length, if driven to extremes, of threatening the immediate withdrawal of the Austrian army, Metternich found himself once again constrained by the Czar's obstinacy to press, gently but firmly, the danger of a general break up of the alliance. Upon this the Russian Emperor thought it wisest to draw in his horns and lower his dictatorial tone. "I do not," he ended by saying, "insist on my ideas against the wishes of my allies. I have spoken according to my conscience; time will do the rest. It will also teach us who was right." Time, to which the Emperor here appeals with so much confidence in his own justification, has scarcely even yet settled the question. Three distinct dynasties and two republics have been tried since then, and have left France as undecided as ever as to the form of government best suited to the wants and genius of its people. Although legitimate or constitutional monarchy has gone on steadily losing ground, till its fortunes have become all but desperate, the vitality of despotism in that country seems to be well-nigh inexhaustible. The French character is essentially one of extremes, and, often as they change their rulers, it is only to replace one form of absolutism by another—yesterday the tyranny of Imperialism, to-day the despotism of democracy. It is the unreasoning fashion of the hour in England, though few men believe in its endurance, to pat the new French Republic on the back; but however much he may profess to admire it, there can be little doubt that Mr. Bull would make a very wry face, if he found himself suddenly called upon to exchange the happiness of his own freedom for such liberties as are vouchsafed to their fellow-citizens by the Freemasons and Free-thinkers, who

¹¹ Napoleon seems to have shared Metternich's views on this subject. "During my stay in Paris in 1825," the latter writes, "whither I had been summoned by a domestic affliction, I was received by King Charles the Tenth. After dinner we spoke much of the past, and lively recollections, called forth by the very rooms in which we stood, rushed into my mind. 'I remember,' I remarked among other things to the King, 'that in 1810, in this very *salon*, I was sitting with Napoleon, and that, when we came to speak of the Bourbons, he said to me, "Do you know why Louis the Eighteenth is not sitting opposite to you? It is because I am sitting here. No other person could maintain his position; and if ever I disappear in consequence of a catastrophe, no one but a Bourbon could sit here."'"

for the moment hold the destinies of beautiful France in their hands.

But we are wandering away from Metternich, whose difficulties increased instead of diminishing with the nearer approach of the Allies to the French capital. More dangerous and more embarrassing still than the crude liberalism and consequent meddling and muddling of the Emperor Alexander, was the eagerness of the Prussians, with old Blücher of Vandal proclivities at their head,¹² to be first in Paris, which they had destined for plunder—an eagerness of which Napoleon took advantage in this memorable campaign of 1814. In a council of war held at Bar-sur-l'Aube, where the King of Prussia loudly contended for a simultaneous advance on Paris, it was decided, on a motion of the Emperor of Austria supported by Metternich, that, whilst a certain latitude of movement should be left to Blücher, each army should decline a battle, except in concert with the other. After the battle which Schwarzenberg accepted near Arcis, and which ended in a mere skirmish with the outposts, the French Emperor, instead of interposing between his capital and the invader, unexpectedly fell back in an easterly direction, his calculation being that Schwarzenberg would not advance at the risk of having his rear threatened and his line of communication cut off. But in this he was disappointed, and for once fairly out-generalled. On hearing that the Austrian Commander-in-Chief, taking advantage of his retrograde movement, was marching on Paris, he exclaimed: "A fine move! I should not have expected it from a general of the Coalition." According to Metternich the credit of this move is due to Schwarzenberg; nothing is said concerning the celebrated mission of Baron de Vitrolles, or of any message from Talleyrand; nor is it likely that Schwarzenberg's strategy could have been influenced by political considerations.

Apprized of this move, the Emperor Francis and Metternich left Bar for Dijon. Thence, on the capitulation of Paris, Metternich made the best of his way, in company with Lord Castlereagh and Prince Hardenberg, to the grand scene of action, where fresh troubles awaited him. Immediately on his arrival (April 10) he went to the Emperor Alexander, who

¹² Blücher seems to have suffered from loot on the brain. When he entered London with the Allied Sovereigns after the war, he is said to have exclaimed, "What a city to sack!" Walking in 1815 with Metternich through the grand gallery at St. Cloud, the old Marshal said, speaking of Napoleon, "That man must have been a regular fool, to have had all this and gone running after Moscow!"

had taken up his abode with Prince Talleyrand, and learned to his dismay that the autocrat had, in the presence of Marshals Ney and Macdonald, more than half completed the arrangement by which Napoleon renounced the throne of France and accepted the sovereignty of the island of Elba. To Metternich's representations as to this last point of the agreement, and the obvious objection, that Napoleon would not long remain quiet so near to the country he had formerly governed, Alexander replied, in a spirit which does him great credit, that Napoleon had given his word, the word of a sovereign and a soldier, which it would be insulting to doubt. But the mind of Metternich was not tranquillized.

I declared to his Majesty that I did not feel authorized to take upon myself a decision of such great consequence for the future repose of France and of Europe, without having received the commands of the Emperor, my master. "This cannot be done now," replied the Emperor Alexander warmly. "In the expectation of your arrival, and of Lord Castlereagh's, I have put off the signature of the treaty for several days; this must be brought to a conclusion in the course of the evening; the marshals must deliver the act to Napoleon this very night. If the signing of this act is not completed, hostilities will begin again to-morrow, and God knows what the result may be. Napoleon is at the head of his army at Fontainebleau, and it is not unknown to him that the act is approved by myself and the King of Prussia; I cannot take back my word. On the other hand, I cannot force you to sign the document which has been already drawn up, and which Nesselrode will lay before you; but you will incur a heavy responsibility if you do not sign." I told his Majesty that before I resolved what was to be done, I wished to consult with Prince Schwarzenberg and Lord Castlereagh.

After this consultation I returned to the Emperor Alexander. I said to him, "The negotiation between your Majesty, the King of Prussia, and Napoleon has gone too far for my opposition to stop it. Prince Schwarzenberg has taken part in the preliminary discussions; the conference in which this treaty is to be signed has actually met. I will go to it, and there place my name to a treaty which in less than two years will bring us back again to the battle-field."

Events proved that I had made a mistake of only a year. The treaty was signed in the course of that evening.

After the signature of the Peace of Paris (May 30, 1814), Metternich, who had received a personal invitation from the Prince of Wales, accompanied the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia on their visit to England, taking with him at the same time the excuses of the Emperor Francis to the

Prince Regent. Twenty years had elapsed since his first visit to this country, and he had been anxious to see England again, in order to ascertain for himself the impression which the political changes on the Continent had made there, as well as to confer with the English Cabinet on the negotiations preliminary to the Congress of Vienna. The Congress of Vienna, at which Metternich presided, was opened on the 3rd of November, 1814, in a simple unpretending manner very disappointing to the general expectations of the Viennese, who had got it into their heads that the meetings of the Plenipotentiaries would be held in the great ball-room of the Imperial Palace, and that the public would be admitted to hear the deliberations. The division of the spoils by the Great Powers had very nearly led to a serious breach, and a war was imminent between Russia and Prussia on the one hand, with England, France, and Austria banded together on the other, when the escape from Elba threw everything again into disorder. One of the minor problems of history is by whom and when the news of this event first reached Vienna. Sir Walter Scott states that it was first made known to the Congress by Talleyrand on March 11th. Metternich, as we have seen, affirms as positively that it reached him early on the morning of the 7th, through the Austrian Consul-General at Genoa.

I received [he says] the first news of Napoleon having left Elba in the following manner. A conference between the plenipotentiaries of the five Powers took place in my house on the night of March 6, and lasted till three o'clock in the morning. Since the Cabinets had met in Vienna, I had given my servant orders that if a courier arrived at night he was not to awake me. In spite of this order, the servant brought me at six o'clock in the morning a despatch sent by courier, and marked *urgent*. When I saw on the envelope the words, "from the Consul-General at Genoa," having been only two hours in bed, I laid the despatch unopened on the nearest table, and turned round again to sleep. Once disturbed, however, sleep would not come again. About half-past seven I resolved to open the despatch. It contained the information in six lines: "The English Commissary, Campbell, has just appeared in the harbour, to inquire whether Napoleon has been seen in Genoa, as he has disappeared from the island of Elba; this question having been answered in the negative, the English ship has again put out to sea."

I was dressed in a few minutes, and before eight o'clock I was with the Emperor. He read the despatch, and said to me quietly and calmly, as he always did on great occasions: "Napoleon seems to wish to play

the adventurer : that is his concern : ours is to secure to the world that peace which he has disturbed for years. Go to the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, and tell them that I am ready to order my army to march back into France. I do not doubt that both monarchs will agree with me.

In less than an hour's time all three monarchs had sent immediate orders to their respective armies to prepare for the renewal of the war. When the Ministers, who had not as yet heard the news, assembled at Metternich's house, Talleyrand was the first to enter. Metternich gave him the despatch from Genoa to read, when the following laconic conversation took place between them :

Talleyrand.—"Do you know where Napoleon is going?"

Metternich.—"The report says nothing."

Talleyrand.—"He will embark somewhere on the coast of Italy, and throw himself into Switzerland."

Metternich.—"He will go straight to Paris."

This is the history in its entire simplicity.

The work of the Congress thus rudely interrupted was resumed and completed in 1815; but we will not trespass further at present on the patience of our readers, whose indulgence we ask for one more article, in which to conclude the whole subject.

WILLIAM LOUGHNAN.

Siberia.

THE more we learn of the history of Russian exploration and rule in those vast regions which the Empire has acquired, and it is still acquiring, beyond the Ural Mountains, the more do we see how closely this is connected with her prison and penal system. Siberia is identified in our thoughts with the idea of exile and exposure to hardships and miseries of every kind. In one sense it has been well selected for its purpose, seeing that it is a land not only of exile, but also of obscurity, of frosts and bitter cold, of vast and unfrequented solitudes, far removed from the knowledge of men, and out of the track of civilization. These features, and more that we shall touch upon, it presents on so grand and almost illimitable a scale as to supply a penal settlement worthy in extent and in rigour to satisfy the needs of a despotic autocrat, who rules over an immense population with iron hand, and strives to maintain his power by repression and by severity of punishment.

There is no exaggeration in connecting the extension of Russian dominion in Siberia with the development of its penal system, because each fresh advance it has made in that direction has been marked by a new line of prisons. In every annexation of hitherto unclaimed territory, newly arrived convoys of exiles might have been seen bearing through steppes and forests to the extreme limits of the widest Empire in the world, sad testimony in their own drooping, way-worn persons to the undoubted power of their Czar. Scarcely has there been time to build a monastery or a strong fortress in this land of banishment before prison cells have stood waiting for the expected exiles. At their very outset the colonies of Pelim, of Berozov, of Selenginsk, of Albazin, were designed for gaols, and so the news of any fresh access of land was taken as the signal for a fresh band of prisoners to take the way towards it. Of course there is a brighter side in well-nigh every picture, however dark and forbidding its general aspect. Fedor Dostoyeffsky,

in his work *Buried Alive, or, Ten Years of Penal Servitude in Siberia*, speaks of distant nooks of the country, hidden away among steppes, mountains, or wild woods, which, in spite of the cold climate, are nice snug places to live in, where things go on much in the same way as they did two hundred years ago. But he allows that there are comparatively very few who make up their minds to settle in Siberia. The majority soon get tired, and moodily ask themselves what could possibly have brought them there, looking forward impatiently to the end of their three years' service, when they immediately apply for another post in Russia, and go back to their own country. For himself he regards Siberia pleasant to live in, the climate being excellent, and many hospitable merchants and wealthy foreigners residing in it till they have made their fortunes. The soil, he states, brings forth fifteen-fold. "In short it is a blessed country, but the difficulty is to know how to enjoy it."

Many persons are probably ignorant of the fact that the region comprised under the title of *Siberia*, and divided nearly down the middle into West and East Siberia, covers a superficies very decidedly larger than that of the whole European Continent. Yet with all this vastness of extent, its population is smaller than that of the Caucasus or of Turkestan, taken separately, and does not equal even the number of souls within the single city of London; while for commerce with abroad it falls short of the traffic of but a third-rate sea-port of Western Europe, such as Dover or Boulogne. Siberia makes a very large slice of the Continent of Asia, and fills up its whole north-east corner, while it extends along the full length of its northern shore. As the Arctic Ocean thus forms its boundary on the north, and the Pacific washes its eastern coast, the Chinese Empire with the east and west divisions of Turkestan bounds it on the south, and European Russia on the opposite side of the Ural Mountains closes it in on the west, down to the shores of the Aral Sea. The three chief characteristics of this region are the extreme rigours of its much indented and almost perpetually frozen sea-coast line, the wild belt of mountains with their frowning crags and wild rocky gorges stretching along its whole southern boundary, and winding upwards towards the north-east point, where Bering Straits unite the Arctic with the Pacific Ocean, and lastly the plains and valleys midway between sea and

mountain range, where alone are to be found the best amenities of Siberian society and Siberian summers, and through which flow noble and fertilizing rivers. This large section of Asia derives its name from the town of Isker, which the Russians called Sebir, and which stood on the river Irtich, close to the site of the modern Tobolsk, the capital of Western Siberia. Long before the conquest of Sebir by the Russian Cossacks, the country was known to Arab merchants and missionaries. For the Tartars professing Islamism it became the centre of a busy commerce in furs. The inhabitants of Novgorod had some acquaintance with the districts lying beyond the tracks which the traders followed, and along which the latter pushed their way descending the affluents of the Ob or Obi.

In the early part of the sixteenth century the Czars of Moscow began to claim lordship over the plains stretching between the Konda, on the west border of Siberia, and the Irtich, a branch of the Ob, and reaching as far north as Obdorsk, a town close to the sea-coast. It was not long before Yermack, a Cossack brigand, by a successful foray gained more definitely for Russia these pleasant hunting-fields, and so redeemed his head, upon which a price had been set for his robberies amongst the shipping at the mouth of the Volga. Sebastian Munster and Herberstein had already indicated these localities on a map of very rude execution, and the Czar soon consolidated his power over them. The town of Sebir, however, gradually disappeared beneath the fresh accumulations of ice which succeeded one another, and the new capital of Tobolsk took its place, to hold sway over an ever extending territory. The fur trader was the real soldier and pioneer of the conquest of Siberia, before whom fell back after a long but ineffectual resistance the native tribes of Bouriates and Koriacks, who but thinly peopled the land. Before 1659 Russia had penetrated along the course of rivers and plains to the other side of the mainland, facing a tempestuous arm of the Pacific, called the Sea of Okhotsk, flanked by the peninsula of Kamtchatka on the north, and the island of Saghalien on the south, and protected in front from the full sweep of the ocean by the thickly studded girdle of the Kourile islets. In the year just named, the Treaty of Nertchinsk obliged the Emperor to evacuate the lower basin of the river Amoor, which, though a small loss as regards the trade in furs, was found later on to be so serious a loss of sea-board room for possible harbours

and military forts to command the Pacific, that Russia was not long in rectifying the mistake with a high hand. In 1851 Mouraviev caused the station of Nikolaïevsk to be built at the mouth of the Amoor, and in addition those of Marinsk and Alexandrousk at the two extremities of the road connecting the Amoor with the Bay of Castries. Three years afterwards he himself passed along the stream at the head of a small flotilla, answering the oburgations of the Chinese officials by pointing to his steamboat, his little fleet of barks, and his rafts well mouthed with cannon. During the Crimean War Russia secured her hold of the south bank of the Amoor by a succession of fortified posts, and in 1859 confirmed by Ukase its appropriation of the ground during a season of profound peace. Finally, in 1860, while the French and English allies were entering Peking, Russia, without striking a blow, but with a diplomacy as skilful as it was cunning, obtained the cession of the coast-line from the Amoor to the Corea, first as part, and then as sole, proprietor.

Neither as to its shores, nor as to its interior, is this wide solitary region even now sufficiently explored. Its deep gulfs and rock-indented coasts fringing the Arctic Ocean misled and puzzled many a brave, enthusiastic searcher for the north-east passage into the Pacific. In vain did Sir Hugh Willoughby, Richard Chancellor, and Stephen Burroughs, in the year 1553, leading the van of English navigators, and following the route which Sebastian Cabot had entered upon in 1496, strive to turn the northern coast of Asia, they did not reach even the sea that washes Siberia. Other English explorers in 1590 approached it, but had to yield before the difficulties of the icebergs of the Sea of Kara, at the line which separates European from Asian Russia. The Dutch Captain Barentz between 1594 and 1597 made three less successful attempts, for he was stayed at Spitzbergen and Novaya Zemlya, and Hendrick Hudson fared no better in 1608. Yet, during this period traders and fishermen from the White Sea made themselves familiar with the gulfs of Ob and Yenisei, until fear of foreign interference with the mysteries of Siberia through Russian pilots forbade, in 1616, all such navigation under pain of death. From this time no plan was left but to send out from the mainland itself light vessels adapted to river traffic, and in 1648 the Cossack Dejnef sailed out at the head of seven such boats from the mouth of the Kolima, a river near the

east end of the coast, and so rounded the north-east extremity of Asia. This success perhaps encouraged others in their desperate struggle to force their way through ice and rocky fissures, and the furious blasts on the northern ocean. In 1735 two enterprising men ventured forth from the river Lena, where the shore was more smooth and regular as being to the west of the Kolima, and they made some little way both east and west, but the ship had to return at last with the dead body of the more persevering and adventurous of these sailors. But, though the northern coast had thus far defied all human efforts to trace out its complete line, a new way of approach was opened by the navigation of the Pacific, and in 1728 Bering, a Dane in the service of the Czar, embarked on it, after traversing Siberia by land, and sailed northward triumphantly into the Arctic Ocean, through the rocky straits which bear his name, publishing to the world the existence of a passage, of which the secret knowledge had long been treasured amongst the archives of Yakoutsh. It remained but for Cook's discoveries on the American side of the passage in 1778 to authenticate the fact, and for the voyage of La Pérouse into the seas of Okhotsh and Japan, along the east side of the Siberian mainland, to complete our knowledge of the general conformation of this continent, by disclosing the existence of two straits, one separating the island of Saghalien from the coast of Siberia, and the other dividing Saghalien from the Japanese island of Yesso.

The intrepid and persevering Swedish explorer, Adolf Nordenskiöld, has crowned the work of geographical discovery. He has not only completed, in his voyage of 1878 and 1879, the whole of the distance from the mouth of the Yenisei to Bering Straits, thus rounding the bold and dangerous promontory of Taymir, and visiting the new Siberian islands nearly opposite the mouth of the river Lena, but he has given valuable information respecting the character of the whole north coast of Siberia. The failure of former expeditions he attributes to three separate causes. The vessels used were neither strong enough, nor were they properly equipped for navigation among ice, being devoid of steam power. In their attempts to traverse the ocean they kept too near the coast. They sought some convenient winter harbour just at the season of the year when the sea is most free from ice, namely late summer or autumn. But it was in exploring the great rivers of Yenisei, the Lena,

and Kolima, and in making more minute observations along the shore, that Nordenskiöld has rendered most service. The coast is fringed by a line of moorland, swamps, and mossy flats, which are covered with snow and ice for one half of the year, and even during the greatest heats of summer are thawed only to the depth of a few inches below the surface. The ocean is frozen for miles seaward during more than half the year, while throughout the remaining months numberless icebergs and floes crowd the sea, and help to intensify the cold of the atmosphere which is more biting than that of either Scotland or Norway. The three immense rivers, the Ob, Yenisei, and Lena, spread out far and wide as they reach their frozen outlets. In winter hardened blocks of ice arrest the flow of the water and force it into a narrow channel, while shallower streams are stopped altogether. When the snows melt, the river bursts its solid covering, and, regaining full light and liberty, pours its new tide of life beyond its banks, and forms two fresh rivers by its side. These rivers find free access into the Arctic Ocean during only sixty or perhaps one hundred days in the year, from about the end of July to the middle of September. The breaking up of the ice even then depends on the agitation of the frozen blocks higher up the stream, but the more intense the cold is the more certain is its icy grasp to contract the hard covering, till it becomes slit and rent asunder in a thousand directions, when the stillness of the night is broken as by a park of artillery, with now and then the bomb of the heavy cannon, as the enormous blocks become dissevered, and carrying along with them large stones and even masses of rock and soil descend the current and launch themselves against the frozen outlet of the river. The strong winds heap these masses up and pile them one upon another, and push them along in front and to the sides, till the whole mass straining with its irresistible weight breaks a passage through for itself into the sea beyond. The immense plains lying between the Polar Sea and the limit of trees consist for the most part of masses of sand and mud washed down as we have described. They are called *tundras*, and from the numerous massive shells found embedded in them they evidently lay in former times beneath the surface of the sea, and are being gradually raised in height by fresh accumulations.

Difficult as it has proved to approach Siberia by way of her barren ice-bound coasts, she presents a barrier almost as

stern and inaccessible towards the south. High and exposed table-lands, lofty mountains and steep ridges guard the deep valleys whence the rivers draw their sources, and frown upon the advancing steps of the traveller. This southern mountain range begins with the Thian Shan, separating Siberia from Eastern Turkestan. Above this, across the narrow plain of Dzoungaria and the banks of the river Irtych, rise the threatening heights of the Altai, stretching up country towards the north-east. As might be expected, the scenery here is magnificent, worthy of its presiding genius, "the mountain of gold," as the name Altai or Al-tin probably means. Though a group of rocky crests and individual peaks not so vast as the Thian Shan which mingles with the clouds its cold snow-clad summits, a true mountain of the heavens, as its name signifies, yet Altai is all the more rich and varied in its gradual descent of undulations, in the alternation of snow with rock and herbage, in the sweep of its valleys, the number of its picturesque ravines, the grandeur of its heights covered with pines and hardy trees, and the mountain streams and incipient rivers hastening down in many a twist and turn to swell the main current of the Ob or the Yenisei. Beyond the Altai, and still more to the north-east, are wild passes connecting it with another chain dominating over a fresh succession of shallow lakes and the affluents which they feed. The highest summits of the Sayan stand over an immense expanse of water called the lake of Baikal—the "rich" or "holy sea," which receives the Salenga, a river of Mongolia from the south, and contributes its share to furnish the stream of the Yenisei, amid the utter silence of a stern and barren solitude. On the eastern shore of this inland sea is the region of the Trans-Baikal becoming ever more and more mountainous as it branches off southward into Mongolia and shoots up to the north-east a prolonged stem which reaches the eastern corner of Siberia and terminates in the peninsula of Kamtchatca and the Bering Straits. From the Trans-Baikal, as from the base of these ranges, stretches another in continuation of the boundary line, looking down on one side into Mongolia, on the other into Siberia. The great centre of these mountains and valleys, as it is the centre for the whole watershed, is the Mounkou-Sardik, the "mount of silver." This magnificent group of mountain tops, rising tier above tier, so sharp and stately in their outline, is covered with perpetual snow, even though summer despoils all the neighbouring

summits of their wintry mantle. Near to this point the mountains give way to the gentle and meandering stream of the Amoor, which carries to the shores of the Pacific the original line of division between Siberia and China. This yielding barrier has, however, as we have seen, already been passed, and with improved navigation can render important service to the Czar.

The real highroads, if we may so speak, which have admitted the explorer into the heart of Siberia, and have enabled him to pass through the whole continent, have been the affluents of the different large rivers. Nature has spread out these modes of travel in every direction, she has inclined them towards one another till, in their onward course as in their first starting point, they almost mingle their waters, and it has required but slight labour or ingenuity for the traveller to complete the transit by means of a short and easy portage. The scientific exploration of the country was retarded even longer than the discovery of its coasts and mountain ranges by the many serious difficulties to be surmounted. Messerschmidt took the first steps towards this in the eighteenth century, and within a few years after Gmelin, Müller, and Delisle de la Croyère spent the full interval from 1733 to 1742 in studying the physical geography of Siberia. Gmelin, however, was prevented from publishing the results of his observations owing to the jealous watch kept by the Russian Government over every document which might make known the resources of the country; nay, so carefully was the secret guarded that many of these records have been lost. The explorer Pallas was in 1770 allowed greater liberty, and was accompanied by a band of students, whose geological and natural history researches reached to the districts beyond the Baikal Mountains, about half way towards the Pacific. The French Revolution and the pre-occupation of Russia with the wars subsequently engaging Europe gave little opportunity for further investigation. The task was re-commenced in the year 1828, when the Norwegian, Hausteen, accompanied by Erman, set out to make their observations in astronomy and the earth's magnetism. Close on their footsteps followed Alexander von Humboldt, Ehrenberg, and Gustave Rose, to make fresh scientific discoveries. Middendorff came next to push his way further north and east, till in 1854 Schwartz, Schmidt, and others nearly completed the general survey by adding their acquaintance with the regions lying between Baikal and the

Lena, including the northern tributaries of the Amoor. The recent travels of our own immediate day are rapidly filling up the interstices before unvisited, and are covering the surface with roads which will bring within more easy reach the whole territory north of the Chinese Empire.

To the east as well as the west of the Ural range extensive plains and gently undulating hills tempt the traveller forward, through what appear to be boundless solitudes. The full tributaries of the greater rivers meet him as they flow along their narrow beds, prairies and marshy lands conducting him from one to the other. When descending he is borne rapidly along on the current, if he has to ascend or to cross to a fresh stream he can carry his light bark with him, unless indeed he finds a resting-place in one of those villages and little towns which form a double line along the banks of the river, where the goodness of the soil has favoured colonization. The route first chosen passed midway between north and south, thus the river Tobol was crossed, and then the Irtich, that grand tributary of the Ob, next the Ob itself, and its affluent the Ket, whence the eye sees close before it the swelling waters of the Yenisei. But the mountains at this point gather round, and the plains branch upward until the Angara is passed, and thence stretch almost due north to the Lena, and so eastward once more to Port Ayan in the Pacific, keeping the outspreading yet subdued mountain ridges well to the south. Even between the Lena and the smooth Amoor rapids and dense forests, marshes difficult of passage, rocks and arid plains frighten or confuse the wayfarer and drive him astray in long journeys that equally wear out health, patience, and supply of food. So late as 1873 the first Russian who ever penetrated the valley of the Amoor lost nearly half his party of one hundred and thirty men through famine and fatigue, while the survivors had to feed on their dead companions or the natives whom they had slain in battle.

The extent to which the river communication may be made use of is shown by the calculation of the academician, Von Baer, that the Ob-Irtich and the Yenisei alone drain an area larger than the combined river territories of the Danube, the Don, the Dneiper, the Dneister, the Nile, the Po, the Ebro, the Rhone, and all the rivers which flow into the Black Sea, the Sea of Marmora, and the Mediterranean. "Part of the territory in question," writes Nordenskiöld, "lies to the north of the Arctic circle, but here to there are to be found the most extensive and

the finest forests on the globe ; south of the forest region proper, level, stone-free plains covered with the most fertile soil stretch away for hundreds of leagues, which only wait for the plough of the cultivator to yield the most abundant harvests, and further south the Yenisei and its tributaries flow through regions where the grape ripens in the open air. As I write this, I have before me a bunch of splendid Siberian grapes." We gather much information also from the Swedish explorer regarding the scenery and the climate along the banks of these noble rivers. The expeditions which he directed gave their attention chiefly to the second of the three rivers frequently mentioned, the Yenisei, but on every point there is great similarity between all rivers flowing from south to north. Thus their western banks consist of ground almost on a level with the water, and of low-lying tracks overflowed in spring. These meadows are in summer partly covered with a rich grassy carpet untouched by the scythe, partly with a bush vegetation abounding in plants and herbs of luxuriant growth. The eastern banks of these rivers are generally grand and gloomy with the foliage of aged forests, chiefly of pine intermingled with birch, while fallen and half-rotten stems are encrusted with moss, in part concealed by abundant currant bushes, with their white and red berries of unusual size. After enjoying fine, often warm, autumn weather, the first frost was experienced on the night of the 20th of September, when at Yeniseisk about half the course of the river had been traversed. From that time the night temperature was below freezing-point, though the days were comparatively warm and pleasant. Flourishing patches of potatoes and cabbage, seen even north of the Arctic circle, became larger and more frequent further south, and a belt of land ready for cultivation, or actually under cultivation, in most places more than six hundred miles broad, was found to extend right across the whole of Siberia, from the Ural Mountains to the Pacific Ocean.

The change of the seasons is very sudden in Siberia, yet admiration of many of the effects thus produced mingles with the dread of the severity of its winters. All nature seems for a time to go to sleep, everything is frozen up, animal and vegetable life is quite blotted out of sight, the very rivers cease to flow beneath their arched covering of snow and ice, a universal silence and solitude reigns around, and in the cold blue of the skies overhead the sun rises scarcely a few degrees above the horizon. Even at night, unless the aurora borealis drapes the heavens

with its variegated and ever-shifting curtain of light, the stars shine out calm and clear and distinct, through the dry, transparent atmosphere. To the east, however, and in its central regions, the rigours of a Siberian winter are much tempered by good nourishment, heavy fur clothing, and a few simple precautions. Winter is transformed instantaneously into a delicious springtide. Leaves burst forth with their bright green, flowers spread their perfume at once, the atmosphere is all aglow with heat, every object is bathed in sunshine, as though at a single bound forward. The very rapidity of the change necessarily brings on reaction in a temperature lowered by the unloosing of cold winds and of the accumulations of frozen streams and snows. After a short-lived summer, hot enough to bring the fruits of the country to maturity, the frosts of returning winter steal upon the nights even of July, and before the middle of August the leaves begin to wither and fall, so that within ten days no tree but the larch is left with a remnant of its foliage thick enough for the lightly touching, feathering snow-fall to bear down to the ground with its crushing weight. In fact, winter has never relaxed its hold on the soil within a very short distance of its surface, but to a considerable depth mixes up with the looser earth thick bars or broken fragments of ice, more or less pure; just as the snow and hardened clods in the embrace of deep ravines and fissures have preserved accumulations which date back to the very infancy of the world. The climate of Western Siberia resembles more that of Europe, but on its east side contrary currents of air coming from the tropics and from the North Pole meet over the sources of the Lena and Amoor, and cause a constant succession of storms, of which "the abominable Sea" of Okhotsk, with its clouds of mist, has to bear the full weight and obloquy. Along the coasts of the Arctic Ocean the winds are much more regular, though at the same time quite as continuous. In the inland and southern districts of the country, especially along the plains of Trans-Baikal, whole winters pass without any snow falling, and as carts or carriages roll over the frozen roads, the hoofs of the horses sound as though they trod on asphalt.

Local traditions, various objects found in ancient tombs, and different inscriptions like those on the rocks bordering the Yenisei, indicate the existence of civilized inhabitants in early times, and whether Aryans, Turks, Finns, or Mongols, such populations are now comprised under the title of Tchoudes.

Above a holy lake in the district of Altaï preside two cavaliers, roughly hewn in granite, as deities of the place, while weapons and portions of armour worked in brass bear witness to the skill in metal of the former races. Remains of water-courses, of mill-dams, and of wheels for grinding prove their industry, as also orchards and a race of pigs superior to any imported from Russia prove that they were husbandmen and farmers. Such relics of the past have been discovered in the hilly districts of the Yeniseï. These ancients were probably of Finnish origin, who mingled with the indigenous races whom they found, and who are likely to disappear before or be lost amongst a new Russian population. Amongst them the Mongol type greatly prevails. At present the majority of those at all civilized are either Russians or the offspring of Cossacks married to native women. The Slavs in Siberia number more than four millions, if the parts about the Ural Mountains be included. The Aborigines, more or less scattered about and distinct from one another, reach little above seven hundred thousand, excluding, however, the small hordes of Kirghiz, who dwell in the steppes within Central Asia. Russian colonization has filled the land, and since the year 1865 it has extended itself southward to the possession of the Altaï, where many rich and magnificent valleys were previously interdicted ground for free colonists. The pre-historic race of this district has left a particular evidence of its civilization, for the mines, so connected of late years with convict labour, were long ago excellently worked, although rich coal seams bordering on the Yeniseï, and probably extending under a great part of the Siberian plain, have hitherto escaped observation, and are even still little valued. The traveller Pallas narrates that his party dragged out of the half-ruined gallery of a mine the wasted skeleton of a pre-historic miner, wearing still by its side a leathern bag filled with valuable mineral ore. In every direction the soil was perforated to form enormous passages that are now almost filled with water. In the agricultural districts also skeletons of men and horses were seen, mixed with ornaments in gold and silver and iron delicately wrought. The principal representatives of the Mongol race on the southern slopes of the Altaï are the Kalmuks, called in their own language Telengout. The Tartars are best able to oppose the Russian advance, and yet the greater number, even of their tribes, exist only in name. More than nine-tenths of the Altaï population are Russians descended from mer-

chants, Government employes, Cossacks, miners, soldiers, and exiles.

The whole of this region was monopolized by the Czar for the working of the mines. Yet colonists in great numbers risked all personal dangers rather than leave such valuable land uncultivated. Peasants from Russia and other countries, from Tambov, Veronei, Penza, and Ufa built their cabins in valleys a little removed from Altai, and remained undisturbed until lapse of time gave them rights over the soil, and they were acknowledged as old Siberians. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Russians instituted gold washing in the sands of the torrents flowing from the "Mount of Gold." In 1736 were first discovered traces of lead and silver in the neighbourhood of Zmeinogorsk, whence the mines of the Altai became the most productive in the world during the latter half of the century, when also the Imperial domains were enlarged by a wide extent of mountainous country between the Irtysh and the Yenisei. Miners were called in from Germany to instruct the serfs in the working of the ore, and have left slight traces behind them in the type of countenance and in certain technical phrases sometimes met with. The metallic veins of the district comprise gold, silver, brass, nickel, and iron, besides lead and zinc which are not extracted. But the expense of working these mines has increased so much since the emancipation of the serfs in 1861, that the importance of Altai as a mining district will, in all probability, gradually diminish; unless, indeed, the attention of the Government is more practically turned to its possessions in wide-spread seams of coal. At the present moment agriculture and cattle-rearing are the principal sources of wealth, at the same time that free labour cannot be developed without help from the State, as long as the population is so thin and traffic is so ill provided for, even with Mongolia. Biisk and Barnaoul, both a little north of Altai, are pleasantly situated in a wide and fertile plain. The latter is well placed as a centre of communication with Tobolsk to the north-west, and Mongolia on the south. Barnaoul is the capital for the whole Russian population of the Altai district, which is considerable. The living there is cheaper, the society is more agreeable, and the town itself is gay than any other, unless it be Irkoutsk, on the banks of the Angara where it flows into the Lake of Baikal. Barnaoul is in constant communication with St. Petersburg, and, besides its mines, not only has a large brass foundry and

public works around it, but it can boast of a meteorological and magnetic observatory, of a public museum of natural history and antiquities, and especially of a remarkable collection of mineralogy and of the past industry of the Tchoudes.

Since we have mentioned Irkoutsh, we cannot do better than describe this fresh centre of advancing civilization and commerce. Situated in the midst of magnificent mountain scenery, it is the capital of Eastern Siberia, and the most populous town of all Russian Asia. Its growth has been very rapid, and though the mortality has been greatly in advance of its list of births, as must happen with an ever-changing population, thousands of gold seekers flock in from the surrounding valleys to swell its census roll. The streets are straight and broad, but the houses are wanting in height; the town is otherwise extensive and well built. It contains the most ancient memorial in the country, the ruins of a fortress bearing date 1661. A branch of the Geographical Society was established here in 1869, and publishes important records, though some were lost in the fire of 1878. This Society marks out Irkoutsh as a place of intellectual development, there is much study in it and public discussion of the affairs of the Empire, which finds vent in the only newspaper of independent principles in Siberia. It has various shops and distilleries, and, of late years, a manufactory of porcelain and earthenware.

Similar in name, but dissimilar in every other feature, is Yakoutsh, on the banks of the Lena, the nearest town of any size to the Pacific. It is finely placed, but its inhabitants have to carry on a constant struggle with the inclemencies of the season, as their town is one of the coldest upon the earth, the mean temperature being nearly that experienced on the summit of Mont Blanc. Its population is made up of hunters, merchants, and boatmen, besides a section of soldiers, officials, and exiles, who cannot choose for themselves. Under Nicholas the prisoners were chiefly political, since that they have been victims of religious persecution. The town took its name from the Yakoutes, a dominant race spreading itself over the north-east corner of this vast Asian continent, between the Arctic and Pacific Oceans. They occupy the banks of the Lena, the Yana, the Indirgirka, and the Kolima, along their whole course into the Polar Sea. Strange as is their choice of territory, the Yakoutes, well named the "Jews of Siberia," are immigrants from the shores of Lake Baikal, having been forced by the

strong-limbed and stolid Bouriates of Mongol extraction to emigrate from their hereditary possessions, taking with them many Tartar customs and expressions. The power of assimilation which the Yakoute has manifested gives him a great advantage in getting on in the world; he can turn his hand to anything, can change from a nomadic to a sedentary life, and with a wonderful facility has become Russified on every point, and finds the Russian youth suitors for his daughters in marriage. He can be an equally good agriculturist, artisan, or miner, and can even succeed in painting and other arts. His complaisance extends to religion also, as he belongs to the Russian Church through a baptism which in his esteem is little more than form, and with which he combines the superstitious invocation of the deities of the air and water, and of demons. In strong contrast to him again are the dwellers on the peninsula of Kamchatka, which stretches out into the Pacific towards Canada and America, and is more known to and more frequented by American than by Russian traders. The sympathies of the people are little with their real conquerors, and they seem more related in every way to the aborigines on the opposite continent. Despite the rocky nature of their limited country, which is in part volcanic, and still emits stones and lava, there is room left for plains of great natural fertility, supporting some twenty villages, where natives and Russians live together. Above this peninsula the Tchoutches and Koriacks divide the north-east territory between them, and both, being of Mongol origin, present the same general features, appearance, and habits of life, and speak a very similar dialect. They live either on the flesh and the milk of the reindeer, or by fishing in the sea and in the prolific waters of the Anadir and the rivers to the north. They lead a sedentary life for the most part, although such as support themselves by the chase become naturally of a more stirring and independent spirit.

Having described the general features of Siberia, the character of its scenery and its climate, the different races which drag on an enfeebled and gradually waning existence, and the slow steps by which it was first discovered, and is even now only being rescued out of oblivion and paganism, little more remains to be done than to sketch it as the sad and last long home on earth of the criminal and exile. We have already indicated the origin of the majority of what are now called free Siberians, whether they can lay claim to be Slavs by birth, or

have become through family ties, language, and customs, brethren with their conquerors. First came hunters from Novgorod, then Cossacks, who assisted Yermack in the conquest of Sebir, but of whom very few brought wives with them, so that they had to form unions with the daughters of the country. Almost all who followed their footsteps, even down to the middle of the present century, have been involuntary colonists, being either soldiers, officials of the Government, or prisoners. The greater number of immigrants, from whatever cause, have succumbed to the rigour of the climate and the hardships of their life. Taking but an average of those officially recorded as having been banished, that is, from eight to nine thousand each year, it will be found that not less than a million of souls have been carried by force into Siberia during the past two hundred and fifty years. The earliest free colonists, with the exception of a few isolated groups, were Russian peasants who took the direction of the lower streams of the Amoor, soon after the annexation of the territory lying immediately south of that river. Before the freedom of the serfs voluntary colonization was an impossibility, the crown and the nobles alike detained at home for the cultivation of their property every peasant whom they did not send off to work in the mines. Such exiles, it is true, by ceasing to be serfs acquired in a short time more ease and independence of action than they had enjoyed in the mother country. The Russian population of Siberia has more than tripled itself within a hundred years, yet if we take together the three hundred years of its possession of the country the growth attained has been very inconsiderable. While there has been decided numerical advance each year in the district of Tomsk, comprising the mines of Altai, there was in 1873 a decrease of twelve thousand souls within twelve years in the direction of Irkoutsk. In many parts it is only fresh immigration which restores the equilibrium of numbers, though in country districts they are on a steady advance.

The first decree of banishment was pronounced upon a female prisoner, by name Oglitch, convicted in 1591 of rousing the people to arms on the assassination of Demetrius, son of Ivan "the Terrible," at the instigation of the usurper, Boris Goudenov. The place of her banishment was Pelim, where she was soon joined by other persons obnoxious to Boris. For some time after this Siberia received as prisoners only political offenders, but in the end of the seventeenth century their numbers were

swelled by different bands from Little Russia; and Raskolniks and Streltzi, both belonging to the party of dissent from the Russian Church, passed along the same roads that they had travelled, or left their dead bodies strewing the way. In 1658 began the first deportation of Poles, but the reign of Catharine the Second drove them to Siberia in masses, and nine hundred incurred this fate by having served under Napoleon. The revolutions of 1830 and subsequent years gave fresh impetus to this work of banishment, but the Poles have helped much to the progress of the country, in obtaining better terms for the miners, in creating local industries, and in promoting horticulture and a better system of education. Amongst political prisoners those likely to obtain most Russian sympathy were the "decabristes" in 1826, who owed the amelioration of their sufferings to the devotion of their wives in accompanying them into exile, and to that spirit of union amongst themselves which gained such solid advantage over their gaolers, and secured for them some of the comforts of civilized life. It is not so long since the main body of the convicts had to traverse the whole distance on foot, attached by the hand to a long bar of iron, as they passed from one prison to the other, the journey occupying two years. They still have to march from Tomsk to Tchita, and as they approach a village they raise the cry of supplication, and receive a small alms from the peasants, by whom they are acknowledged, not as criminals, but as the victims of misfortune. Even those condemned for public crimes are commiserated, but the simple prisoner for minor offences, thieving and the like, is generally looked down upon. Except for them the rehabilitation of character is easily effected, and it is a matter of principle or honour with them that when *en route* no one should attempt escape.

As in Russia, the mass of the population is grouped together into communities, or *communes*, although these enjoy the use, not the proprietorship of the soil. Each *mir*, comprising several villages, is answerable for payment of the impost to the State, and apports out the land according to the number of souls, or rather of males able to work, who have each to contribute their share to defray the general tax. The *mir* is charged with the care of ground corresponding in size to the number of its inhabitants, but practically the cultivation of the soil touches only a small part at a time, the rest lying fallow. The prairies yielding their crops regularly are partitioned out afresh every

year, while the forests are open to public service. The community is bound to welcome to its bosom every convict when the lapse of his term of imprisonment changes him from a prisoner into a colonist. He also in his turn receives a site for his house, above an acre for his garden, along with his division out of the fields and meadows, so as to make eleven acres in all. But there is always a floating population belonging to no class, and possessing neither lands nor rights; of such unpleasant gentry the prisons of Nertchinsk alone, in the Trans-Baikal, has turned out no fewer than three thousand one hundred and four specimens in the single year 1848. Such pay a dear price for their freedom, as the fruits of idleness, joined to the severity of the winter, drives them to seek prison shelter under a false name, and in some part of the country where they are unknown. To help detection the authorities used barbarously to disfigure the nose of every condemned person, and up to the year 1864, each convict was branded on the forehead and on both cheeks. At the present time the moral stigma of outlawry is deemed sufficient mark, entailing the risk of being shot down at any moment. We cannot wonder then that in some regions much cruelty is practised, and life is held very cheap. Besides criminals, there are throughout Siberia fanatical vagrants of the sect of the Stranniki.

M. Dostoyeffsky gives, no doubt, in his book on penal servitude the most favourable view possible of convict life, and of the society of the free colonists in Siberia, but the picture drawn can scarcely be called an attractive one. As a branch of the Russian race and Empire, the Siberians must ever possess very peculiar and very contradictory qualities. Their natural intelligence is perhaps keener, but it is certainly less trained than that of their brethren in Europe. Never having been under bondage except in the mines or manufactories, having a wider range for their labour than the Russian peasants of Europe, being brought less frequently in contact with officers placed over them, they live on terms of greater mutual equality. There is no trace of servility in either bearing or tone of voice, but they have little natural gentleness or kindly feeling towards others. They are deficient in point of manners, and in strength and energy of character. Their chief fault, however, lies in indifference, they are uninfluenced either by religious fervour or political enthusiasm, though cool and clear-sighted enough in calculation. They have no taste for the finer arts of poetry or music. They

are inquisitive from motives of curiosity rather than of acquiring knowledge, and love their own ease, but will put themselves to no trouble to obtain it, while they set more value upon the assertion of mutual equality than on the dignity of true freedom. Yet do certain rare examples of noble devotedness shine forth like gold amid the dull tints of a too prevalent mediocrity, and should Siberia some time hence assume a position of importance in the civilized world, such as the natural richness of a large portion of its territory may well lead us to expect, it will demand for itself greater freedom and independence.

J. G. MACLEOD.

The Religion of the Aryans.

PART THE SECOND.

WERE the nature gods the chief Aryan gods? Professor Max Müller has indirectly done much to spread this opinion by the prominence given in his system to Dyaus, the sky. Many passages might be quoted from his writings in which Dyaus, or Dyu, appears as the highest god of the Aryans, and the statement is then made the basis of an argument. In the Lectures on Language the chief argument from the Veda for this view appears to be that—

There are invocations in which the name of Dyu stands first, and where he is invoked together with other beings who are always treated as gods. For instance (Rig-Veda, vi. 51, 5): "Dyaus (sky), father, and Prithivī (earth), kind mother, Agni (fire), brother, ye Vasu's (bright ones), have mercy upon us!" Here sky, earth, and fire are classed together as Divine powers, but Dyaus, it should be remarked, holds the first place.¹

In this passage, as in many others where Dyaus is invoked, he is coupled with Prithivī (mother earth). This suggests the dualist idea of earth and sky as the parents of all things, and naturally the other personified powers of nature follow them. Dyaus thus becomes from one point of view the chief element in the system of nature-worship. But we question if this justifies such reflections as those in which Professor Max Müller indulges on the subject. For example, he says in his first course of Lectures on the Science of Religion:

In exploring together the ancient archives of language, we found that the highest god had received the same name in the ancient mytho-

¹ *Lectures on the Science of Language*, ii. pp. 471, 472. The invocation without the Sanskrit words would run: "Father sky, kind mother earth, brother fire, ye shining ones, have mercy on us," i.e., be gracious to us. We have here a good instance of the simplicity of the Aryan nature-worship. It is perhaps worth noting, too, that Dyaus (sky) and the rest are here classed with the Vasu's, an inferior class of deities.

logies of India, Greece, Italy, and Germany, and had retained that name whether worshipped on the Himalayan mountains, or among the oaks of Dodona, on the Capitol or in the forests of Germany. I pointed out that his name was *Dyaus* in Sanskrit, *Zeus* in Greek, *Jovis* in Latin, *Tiu* in German: but I hardly dwelt with sufficient strength on the startling nature of this discovery. These names are not mere names: they are historical facts, ay, facts more immediate, more trustworthy, than many facts of mediæval history. These words are not mere words, but they bring before us, with all the vividness of an event which we witnessed ourselves but yesterday, the ancestors of the whole Aryan race thousands of years, it may be, before Homer and the Veda, worshipping an unseen Being under the most exalted name they could find in their vocabulary—under the name of Light and Sky. And let us not turn away and say that this was after all but nature-worship and idolatry. No, it was not meant for that, though it may have been degraded into that in later times: *Dyaus* did not mean the blue sky, nor was it simply the sky personified: it was meant for something else. We have in the Veda the invocations *Dyâus pítar*, the Greek *Ζεῦ πάτερ*, the Latin *Jupiter*: and that means in all the three languages what it meant before these three languages were torn asunder—it means Heaven-Father! These two words are not mere words, they are, to my mind, the oldest poem, the oldest prayer of mankind, or at least of that pure branch of it to which we belong, and I am as firmly convinced that this prayer was uttered, that this name was given to the unknown God before Sanskrit was Sanskrit and Greek was Greek, as when I see the Lord's Prayer in the languages of Polynesia and Melanesia I feel certain that it was first uttered in the language of Jerusalem.²

Then, after pointing out how little we could suspect such memories clung to the name of Jupiter, he tells us that when we pray even now we can but "combine the self-same words and utter once more the primeval Aryan prayer, Heaven-Father, in that form which will endure for ever, 'Our Father which art in Heaven.'"

This passage has been sometimes quoted as evidence for the very view that we are maintaining, the view that there was a far higher element than mere nature-worship in the religion of the Aryans, "though it may have been degraded into that in later times." But we prefer not to plead any such admissions, as they lose much of their force if read in the light of Professor Müller's more recent Hibbert Lectures. Moreover, the whole passage, beautiful as its main idea is, seems to us to be founded on a misleading interpretation of facts. The Heaven-Father

² *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, pp. 171, 172 (:873).

becomes a much less exalted personification when we see the invocation so often coupled with that of the Earth-Mother, and after all where is the proof that Dyaus was the chief Aryan god before the separation? He is unheard of in Persia; in India, except when thus linked with Prithivî and some of the other native deities, he is of very little importance, he has no hymns specially addressed to him in the Veda, he is utterly eclipsed by the prominence of Varuna in the earlier period and of Indra, the god of the atmosphere and of rain, in the later. Indra is described as the son of Dyaus and Prithivî, heaven and earth, a very natural outcome of mythology, and Dyaus and Prithivî are so closely linked in the Indian mind of Vedic times that at length they coalesce into one dual deity, Dyāvaprithivî.³ In Greece, on the other hand, Dyaus as Zeus is supreme; but here the very form of the mythology tells of previous gods cast out by him from the supreme place. Cronos, a purely Greek deity, and Ouranos, corresponding in name and in some other respects to the Vedic Varuna, and therefore a god of the old Aryan religion. Still more to the westward in the Roman pantheon Jupiter, even before the beginning of that connection with Greece which gave him all the attributes of Zeus, appears as the chief god, but we have so little materials to form a judgment upon that we cannot say how long he held the position. The northern representative of Dyaus, Tyr or Tiu, appears in the Edda as an epithet of both Odin and Thor, or as Odin's son.⁴

All this tends to shake very much our belief in Dyaus having been the chief god of the primitive Aryans. That through the idea of the marriage of Earth and Heaven, and of the uprising of other forces and objects in nature as their offspring, Dyaus held the most prominent place in certain aspects of their nature-worship we do not doubt, but this is very far from making him the supreme god of the Aryans. His complete insignificance in all the East, and his late appearance in the Greek mythology, make this more than doubtful. That Zeus was by the Greeks invested with all the attributes of a supreme deity, or at times even of the sole deity, is clear enough; but the question is about the religion, not of the Greeks, but of the undivided Aryans.

Now here we re-open Pictet's work, in order to weld into our argument a fact which has been put forward by no one as

³ Cf. Max Müller, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1878, pp. 277, 278.

⁴ On Tyr or Tiu, see Cox, *Introduction to Mythology*, p. 47, and Max Müller, *Language*, ii. 500.

clearly as by him, and the importance of which it is not easy to exaggerate. Besides the names *Dyaus*, *Zeús*, *Ju-piter*, all denoting a particular deity who was a personification of the bright sky,⁵ there is another series of words in Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, *dēva*, *θεός*,⁶ *deus*, which mean God, or a god: in other words, we have here an expression for the predicate of God in general.

The oldest of the names of God [says M. Pictet], one which has been handed down through centuries and through many forms of religion, and has thus been transmitted to us, is the Sanskrit *dēva*, of which the primitive form was perhaps *daiva*. Its destinies have assuredly been most remarkable, for while it has remained unaltered among the Aryans of India, it has assumed the meaning of "demon" among the Iranians in consequence of the religious schism of Zoroaster. Brought to Europe by the first immigrants, it was preserved as the name of God among the Kelts and Lithuanians, as well as in the polytheism of Greece and Italy, to be transmitted to Christianity, in which it replaced the Jehovah of the Hebrews.⁷

⁵ Though this was perhaps not always the sense of *Dyaus*. Even here the sky may have been only a kind of type of the deity. The Ashantis believe in a personal god, and yet give him the same name as the sky. Again, the Santhals were supposed to worship the sun. Their word for the sun is Chando. "They declared to the missionaries who settled among them that Chando had created the world: and when told that it would be absurd to say that the sun had created the world, they replied with: 'We do not mean the visible Chando, but an invisible one'" (Max Müller, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1878, p. 208).

⁶ The correspondence of *deus* with *dēva* is certain, that of *θεός* is still an open question, as *θ* is not a representative of a Sanskrit or Latin *d*—*θεός* would be the corresponding form. But there are strong arguments for the identity of *θεός* with *dēva* and *deus* on other grounds. Professor Max Müller, although he still professes to regard the question as an open one, all but decides it in the following well put argument (*Chips*, iv. 239, 240): "Though I did not undervalue the powerful arguments advanced against the identity of *deus* and *θεός*, I thought that other arguments also possessed their value, and could not be ignored with impunity. If with our eyes shut we submit to the dictates of phonetic laws, we are forced to believe that while the Greeks shared with the Hindus, the Italians, and the Germans, the name for the bright god of the sky, *Zeús*, *Dyaus*, *Jovis*, *Zio*, and while they again shared with them such derivatives as *εἰός*, heavenly, Sk. *dīvyas*, they threw away the intermediate old Aryan word for god, *dēva*, *deus*, and formed a new one from a different root, but agreeing with the word which they had rejected in all letters but one. . . . Would it not be an almost incredible coincidence if the Greeks, after giving up the common Aryan word, which would have been *δεῖFός* or *δεῖFός* or *δεFός* had coined a new word for god from a different root, yet coming so near to *δεFός* as *θεFός*? These internal difficulties seem to me nearly as great as the external: at all events, it would not be right to extenuate either." Whether *θεός* represents *dēva* and *deus* etymologically or not does not much affect our argument, that it virtually represents them is enough for our purpose.

⁷ Pictet, iii. 412, 413.

This name of God, common to Hindu, Greek, Roman, Kelt, and Lithuanian, clearly goes back to Aryan days. It can be predicated of any particular god, but it keeps its distinct position so far apart from Zeus and Jupiter that by the philosophers of pagan days it is used for the one God, in expressing thoughts that have been taken up by Christian philosophy and by it expressed in the very same words. Now this special consecration of the word to the idea of God goes back as far as ever we can trace it. The root of Dyaus, *Zeús*, *Jupiter*, on the one hand, and *Deva*, *Deus*, on the other, is the same, namely, *DIV*, which conveys the idea of brightness, light, to shine. But this makes the marked separation in the usage of the words all the more striking, and the distinction is none the less important because it is continually disregarded. Professor Max Müller, Mr. Cox, and others of the same school, translate *Deva* as if the meaning were "bright one, shining one." Now although this is the etymological meaning of the word, the mere fact that no passage can be produced in which either *deva* or its derivatives in Sanskrit and its congeners in other languages are used merely in the sense of *bright*, seems to us to show that *deva* has a marked sense of its own, and means, not bright, but divine. This is further confirmed by the existence in Sanskrit of a large group of words from the stems *div* and *dyu*, in all of which, as in Dyaus itself, the idea of light, the bright sky, the day, is prominent. Thus we get in Latin the form *dies*, the day, totally distinct from *Deus*, God; and, strangely enough, though a man may be spoken of by a poet as *sub Jove* or *sub Divo*, "under the open sky," he is never said to be *sub Deo*. The marked distinction between *Deva* and *Div* is fully brought out in the Sanskrit dictionaries of Benfey and Monier Williams, and in that of Roth and Boehtlingk. Professor Max Müller has put on record an objection to the course taken by these two last scholars. After explaining *deva* as "originally bright, afterwards god," he goes on:

It is curious that this, the etymological meaning of *deva*, is passed over in the Dictionary of Boehtlingk and Roth. It is clearly passed over intentionally, and in order to show that in all the passages where *deva* occurs in the Veda it may be translated by god or divine. That it may be so translated it would be difficult to disprove; but that there are many passages where the original meaning of bright is more appropriate can easily be established. Rig-Veda, i. 50, 8: "The seven Harits (horses) carry thee on thy chariot, brilliant (*deva*) Sun, thee with

flaming hair, O far-seeing!" No doubt we might translate the divine Sun; but the explanation of the commentator in this and similar passages seems more natural and more appropriate. What is most interesting in the Veda is exactly this uncertainty of meaning, the half-spiritual and half-physical intention of words such as *deva*. In Latin *deus* no longer means brilliant, but simply God. The same applies to *theos* in Greek and *dievas* in Lithuanian.⁸

If this is the most striking passage from the Veda in support of Professor Max Müller's interpretation, it must count for very little, occurring as it does in a prayer to the Sun as a supernatural power. Nor does the epithet *adeva*, applied to the enemies of the gods, the "powers of darkness," necessarily tell in favour of this view, if the chief idea of *deva* is "divine," the common interpretation of *adeva* as "ungodly, impious," must hold good; only texts where the idea of *darkness* was the most prominent could possibly be valid against it, and such texts Professor Max Müller does not give. What is said in the following page (ii. 500) tells strongly in favour of our view that *Deva* means the divine. There we are told that in India, when

The Adityas, the Vasus, the Asuras, and other names, had fallen back in the onward race of the human mind towards the highest conception of the Divine; the Devas alone remained to express *theos*, *deus*, God. Even in the Veda, where those glimpses of the original meaning of *deva*, brilliant, can still be caught, *deva* is likewise used in the same sense in which the Greeks used *theos*. The poet (x. 121, 8) speaks of

Him who among the gods was alone god—
Yā deveshu adhi devaś ekaś āst.

A last step brings us in Sanskrit to *Daiva*, derived from *deva*, and this is used in the later Sanskrit to express fate, destiny.⁹

All this appears to us to strongly confirm the view that the mere nature-worship, which is so prominent a factor, and indeed the chief element, in the Veda, does not represent the entire circle of the religious ideas of the Aryans, that for them though *Dyaus* still meant the bright sky, *Deva* meant, not bright, but divine. In other words, that besides nature-worship there was a marked spiritual element in their religion, so much so that they already used in a spiritual sense a word whose purely etymological meaning had disappeared and given place to that

⁸ Max Müller, *Lectures on Language*, ii. 497, 498.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 500.

secondary meaning which it still bears as the name of God in Christendom.

Professor Roth insists strongly on the existence of this spiritual element in the Aryan religion, and seems to attribute to it a higher importance than the naturalistic element. Long as it is, the following extract from his essay on "The Highest Gods of the Aryan Races"¹⁰ is too suggestive to be either omitted or summarized.

What still further enhances the value of this inquiry, and is of especial importance in reference to the primitive period, is the peculiar character attaching to the conception of the Adityas. The names of these deities (with a certain reservation in regard to that of Varuna) embrace no ideas drawn from physical nature, but express certain relations of moral and social life. Mitra, the "friend," Aryaman, Bhaga, Ansa, the gods who "favour," "bless," "sympathize," and Daksha, the "intelligent," are pure spirits in whom the noblest relations of human intercourse are mirrored, these relations appearing as emanations of the Divine life and as objects of immediate Divine protection. But if the earliest Aryan antiquity thus beheld in its highest gods, not the most prominent manifestations of physical nature, but the conditions of moral life and society, and consequently esteemed these moral blessings more highly than anything connected with the wants and enjoyments of sense, we must ascribe to that age a high spiritual capacity, whatever may have been its deficiency in the constituents of external civilization. These considerations throw some light on the principles and character of the two Aryan religions which have sprung from one and the same source. The religion of Ormuzd holds fast, while it shapes after its own peculiar fashion, the supersensuous element called into existence by the higher order of gods belonging to the common ancient creed, and eventually rejects almost entirely the deities representing the powers of nature, which, as well as those of the former class, it had inherited from the earliest period. The Vedic creed, on the other hand, is preparing to concede the highest rank to the latter class (the representatives of the powers of nature). . . . The course of the movement is that an ancient supreme deity, originally common to the Aryans (*i.e.*, ancestors of Persians and Hindus), and perhaps also to the entire Indo-Germanic race, Varuna-Ormuzd-Uranos, is thrown back into the darkness, and in his room Indra, a peculiarly Indian and national god, is introduced. With Varuna disappears at the same time the old character of the people, while with Indra a new character, foreign to the primitive Indo-Germanic nature, is in an equal measure introduced. Viewed in its internal essence, this modification consists in an ever-increasing tendency to attenuate the supersensuous mysterious side of their creed, till at length the gods who were originally the highest and the most spiritual have become

¹⁰ *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, vi. 76, seq.

unmeaning representatives of nature, and Varuna is nothing more than the ruler of the sea, while the Adityas are the mere regents of the sun's course.

It must be noted that Professor Roth throughout means by Aryans the ancestors of the Hindus and Persians, or, as we would say, the Eastern Aryans, and he applies the term Indo-European to the whole family. When he speaks of an ancient Supreme Deity of the whole race, he is speaking of not a single God, but the chief God of a polytheistic system. We need not insist upon the value of his evidence as to the spiritual side of the old Aryan creed. What we wish to dwell upon here is its monotheistic aspect. This leads us to the second part of our question, the Aryan idea of a Supreme God. No Aryan people has a republic of gods; the Aryan pantheon is always a monarchy, and it is a monarchy in which at times the chief god towers so high above the rest that the attributes of the One God are shadowed forth in him. Thus in ancient Greece, to use the words of a writer in our own pages, "so prominent did Zeus stand in prerogative and power, that if he alone had been called *god* (*θεός*), and the gods under him had risen no higher than the title of *genii* (*δαίμονες*), it would have been scarcely more than an expression in words of the distinction which every Greek drew in worship between Zeus and the rest of the gods immortal. This precedence over them was conceived in analogy to that which a king in the early ages of Greece took over the great lords of the kingdom. They had the style of kings (*βασιλῆες*), but they were far from sharing the regal power. There sat a monarch above them, a sole ruler."¹¹ Many a word said and sung by the old Greeks in praise of Zeus is full of the idea of the Supreme God to Whom nothing is like or equal. We can trace among the Eastern Aryans a similar pre-eminence of deities older than Zeus, and doubtless going back to the primitive days of the undivided Aryan people. There are two names, first the Varuna of the Veda, the counterpart of Ouranos, dethroned in later days by Indra, even as Ouranos was thrust down by Zeus, and secondly the Ahura of the Zend Avesta (Ahura-mazda, Ormuzd), round which cluster attributes marking out a spiritual Supreme God. We have already seen how Professor Roth looks on a combination of the characters of Varuna-Ormuzd-Ouranos as representing the supreme Aryan

¹¹ "The Unity of God in Heathendom." By the Rev. Joseph Rickaby, M.A. THE MONTH, vol. vi. N.S. p. 74 (1872).

God. The Zend Ahura is the Sanskrit Asura, degraded in later times to mean an evil spirit, but in its original meaning denoting a breathing living spirit (root, AS, to be), or the *being* as being, therefore no unmeet name for God. Professor Darmesteter, in his introduction to the Zend Avesta, after observing that the Eastern Aryans or Indo-Iranians recognized a law in nature, the work of "a God Who fixed that never failing law and on Whom it rests for ever," and a strife in nature between good and evil, goes on to say:

There were therefore, in the Indo-Iranian religion, a latent monotheism and an unconscious dualism, both of which, in the further development of Indian thought, slowly disappeared; but Mazdeism (*i.e.*, the religion of Iran), lost neither of these two notions, nor did it add a new one. . . . This god (*i.e.*, the supreme heaven god) was named, either after his bodily nature, Varana, the "all embracing sky," or, after his spiritual attributes, Asura, "the Lord," Asura visvavedas, "the all-knowing Lord," Asura Mazdhâ, "the Lord of high knowledge." The supreme Asura of the Indo-Iranian religion is called in the Avesta Ahura Mazda, "the all-knowing Lord;" his concrete name Varana, which became his usual name in Indra (Varuna) was lost in Iran, and remained only as the name of a material heaven and then of a mythical region, the Varena.¹²

We quote this passage merely to bring out the fact of the prominence of a supreme god in the old Aryan creed, who united the characters of the Persian Ahura with some of those of the Indian Varuna. That Ahura was a spiritual conception is clear. In the Avesta he stands out as the one god. The dualism which made an everlasting war between two equal gods—Ormuzd and Ahriman—the chief feature of the Persian system, is a growth of later date. But the character of Varuna is not so obvious, and, as we have seen, Professor Darmesteter, who appears to be an advocate of the naturalistic view of religion, dwells upon the material aspect of Varuna as more essential than his spiritual character, though he has brought this out very fairly and fully in his essay on *The Supreme God of the Aryan People*. With regard to the question before us, it will be necessary to discuss at some length the character of Varuna, in order to give the grounds of our view that he represents only another phase of the same supreme god of the Aryans whose characteristics are more fully preserved in

¹² *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. iv, pp. lvii., lviii.

the Persian Ahura. Of Varuna we hear far more in the Veda than anywhere else, for before Greek literature has begun, his parallel, Ouranos, has been dethroned, and the Greek name means little more than the heavens. In the Veda we have hymns to Varuna clearly of different dates and inspired by different ideas. His name stands on the border line between those which are clearly spiritual in purport and those that are merely materialistic. Varuna has its root in VRI or VAR, to surround, to encompass, and its meaning is therefore the "all-surrounding." Clearly this is an epithet which can be applied equally to an all present Deity and to the sky which surrounds all things. Varuna appears in the Veda with varying attributes. At times he is associated with Indra. Now Indra is a peculiarly Indian god, not belonging to the older Aryan faith; the conception of Varuna, therefore, as the associate of Indra, or of such other Indian deities as Yama and Vishnu, may represent a very different idea from that embodied in Varuna by the undivided Aryans. Again, Varuna is invoked with Mitra, "the friend or companion" of the earlier Aryan faith, but now an epithet of the sun-lit sky, and later still of the sun itself. Coupled with Mitra, the ruler of the day, Varuna is the ruler of the night, but there is no opposition between them. Together they are the lords of truth and goodness, the rulers of the world. In one hymn (Rig-Veda, vii. 64) they are jointly called Sindhu-pati, or Lord of the Waters, marking a transition to the later time when Varuna became merely a minor god ruling the ocean. At first sight Varuna, the "all-surrounding," appearing merely as the god of the midnight sky and the equal of Mitra, seems to be a restriction of a wider idea. His subsequent appearance as the brother of Agni, or the colleague of the new god Indra, who later thrusts him aside, then his degradation to the position of a minor deity, a mere demi-god, all seem to point to a great process of change in the idea of Varuna, according well with that attenuation of the spiritual side of their creed, and exaggeration of its naturalistic element, which Professor Roth notes as characteristic of the Indo-Aryans, distinguishing them from their brethren of Iran. This view is further confirmed by the fact that, though Mitra is only celebrated alone in one hymn of the Veda (Rig-Veda, iii. 59), Varuna is often addressed alone, though not so frequently as in union with Mitra; still, even where Varuna is addressed together with Mitra, there is one passage at least where the invocation of Mitra looks like an

interpolation.¹³ But taking the hymns addressed to Varuna alone, we find in them a conception of that god that is wholly spiritual. He is addressed as the supreme god, almost as the only God worthy of the name, and this in words that would seem at times the echo of a Christian liturgy, if we did not know that they were sung by the rivers of the Punjab full three thousand years ago. Now Varuna in the Veda is a waning departing god. Indra is thrusting him down, as Zeus cast down Ouranos; soon he will be relegated to an obscure place amid a host of demi-gods and demons. Is it at all probable that these high-souled hymns to Varuna, the Asura, the king of gods and men, full of deep wisdom, establisher of law, avenger of wickedness, merciful to the repentant, represent the mere outcome of the Indian nature worshippers, who saw in Varuna only the sky of night, and were fast bringing Indra and all the later gods of earth, air, and sky into pre-eminence? Of these hymns to Varuna the reader will easily find examples in Wilson's version of the Rig-Veda, in Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, or in Max Müller's *Chips*. We take some examples from this last source; many others as striking might be cited. Here is an Indian *Miserere* which surely was never poured out to a mere personification of the sky.

HYMN TO VARUNA (Rig-Veda, vii. 89).

1. Let me not yet, O Varuna, enter into the house of clay; have mercy, almighty, have mercy!
2. If I go along trembling, like a cloud driven by the wind; have mercy, almighty, have mercy!
3. Through want of strength, thou strong and bright god, have I gone wrong; have mercy, almighty, have mercy!
4. Thirst came upon the worshipper, though he stood in the midst of the waters; have mercy, almighty, have mercy!
5. Whenever we men, O Varuna, commit an offence before the heavenly host, whenever we break the law through thoughtlessness; have mercy, almighty, have mercy!

Again, in the following hymn (attributed, like all the hymns of that part of the Veda, to Vasishta, who appears as the suppliant in the fifth section), we have the same sense of sin, making us feel how like men were in those old days to what they still are.

¹³ Rig-Veda, i. 25, 26.

HYMN TO VARUNA (Rig-Veda, vii. 86).

1. Wise and mighty are the works of him who stemmed asunder the wide firmaments (heaven and earth). He lifted on high the high and glorious heaven; he stretched out apart the starry sky and the earth.

2. Do I say this unto my own self? How can I get unto Varuna? Will he accept my offering without displeasure? When shall I with a quiet mind see him propitiated?

3. I ask, O Varuna, wishing to know this my sin. I go to ask the wise. The sages all tell me the same: Varuna it is who is angry with thee.

4. Was it an old sin, O Varuna, that thou wishest to destroy thy friend who always praises thee? Tell me, thou unconquerable lord, and I will quickly turn to thee with praise, freed from sin.

5. Absolve us from the sins of our fathers, and from those which we committed with our own bodies. Release Vasishtha, O King, like a thief who has feasted on stolen oxen, release him like a calf from the rope.

6. It was not our own doing, O Varuna, it was necessity (or temptation), an intoxicating draught, passion, dice, thoughtlessness. The old is there to mislead the young. Even sleep brings unrighteousness.

7. Let me without sin give satisfaction to the angry god, like a slave to the bounteous lord. The lord god enlightened the foolish; he the wisest leads his worshipper to wealth.

8. O Lord Varuna, may this song go well to thy heart! May we prosper in keeping and acquiring! Protect us, O gods, always with your blessings!

The last lines jar upon the ear, the mere prayer for wealth, the appeal to the gods, the *devas*, reminding us that Vasishtha, high-souled singer as he was, had polytheism all around him; but what goes before, the whole spirit of the hymn (and more of the same kind might be quoted) surely accords well with the view that sees in Varuna the same god as the Ahura of Iran. It will be urged however that these hymns to Varuna may be paralleled by others in which Indra, or Soma, or Agni is addressed as the great lord of all things. It is true that there are an abundance of such hymns in the Veda, and so marked in them is this feature of the temporary prominence of one god whom the worshipper addresses as being for the moment supreme, that Professor Max Müller has proposed to recognise this as the work of a special phase of religion which he calls henotheism, or the worship of a single god, as opposed to monotheism, the worship of one god to the exclusion of all

others. Now without disputing this henotheistic feature in the Veda, we must point out that the hymns to Varuna differ in many respects from the hymns to Indra and the rest. When Varuna is exclusively addressed the whole tone of the hymn is higher, it keeps mainly within the sphere of spiritual ideas, and the prayer for forgiveness of sin holds a prominent place; attributes are bestowed upon Varuna which are all his own, especially an omnipresence and an omniscience that seem to imply a very exalted idea of the supreme god. On the other hand, the hymns to Indra, Agni, Soma, to Ushas, and the rest, breathe a much lower atmosphere; they are petitions for rain, cattle, food, and they teem with well developed mythological ideas. So marked is this character of most of the hymns that P. Brucker¹⁴ has suggested that we have in very many of them, not outbursts of poetry inspired by the aspect of nature, but spells for the hastening of rain such as are used in our own days in Africa. The very fact that this henotheistic phase exists, really tells in favour of our argument for the existence of a supreme Aryan god older than the Veda. What is the impulse that makes the worshipper address the object of his worship as one and above all others, but a testimony to the fact that even in lower concepts of God the underlying connection between the idea of God and that of unity is working in the worshipper's mind and finds expression on his lips. Further, this henotheistic phase, supposing it well established, might in itself equally well represent a period of transition from monotheism to polytheism, instead of one of advancement from polytheism to monotheism, and the fact must not be left out of sight that after the Veda with its henotheistic features comes the polytheism of Brahmanism and Hinduism. This appeal to the known history of religion in India subsequent to the age of the Veda can be pressed very forcibly in conjunction with an argument that may be based upon an important fact brought out by no one more clearly and fully than by Professor Max Müller in his Hibbert Lectures: namely that—

A belief in a cosmic order existed before the Indians and Iranians separated, it formed part of their ancient common religion, and was older therefore than the oldest Gâthâ of the Avesta and the oldest hymn of the Veda. It was not the result of later speculation, it did not come in only after the belief in the different gods and their more or less despotic government of the world had been used up.

¹⁴ *Etudes Religieuses Historiques*, &c., pp. 842, 843. Paris, June, 1880.

No, it was an intuition which underlay and pervaded the most ancient religion of the Southern Aryans, and for a true appreciation of their religion it is far more important than all the stories of the dawn, of Agni, Indra, and Rudra.¹⁵

This idea of law in nature is itself an element of unity implying one supreme god, and it is striking to find that in the Veda the idea of Rita "law" is especially associated with Varuna in whom we have endeavoured to trace the Indian phase of the supreme Aryan god. Now if the grasping of the idea of order in nature, the conception of gods of so high a character as the Ahura of Iran and the Varuna of certain hymns of the Veda were steps in an onward progress from a lower and more barbarous early Aryan creed, is it not strange that suddenly even in Iran all progress ceased, nay Ahura became only the equal rival of a god of evil, while in India the cessation of progress was followed by the rapid development of a complex polytheism such as the world has nowhere else witnessed. There are many high authorities for placing later in the Veda in order of time those hymns that imply more or less clearly monotheistic ideas, but the only ground for this is the theory that there was in India a progress from polytheism towards unity. But is not this a most unscientific use of an hypothesis? The hymns in question may just as well be first as last, and we are inclined to believe that they are often the earliest, though not necessarily older, except in the order of their ideas, than many of the hymns to Agni, Ushas, and the rest. Is it at all probable that in India in Vedic and post-Vedic days there was an onward progress from nature worship through polytheism and henotheism to a kind of vague monotheism? Whence then came the rapid multiplication of the Vedic gods till the later pantheon became a multitude of gods, demi-gods, and demons, counted by hundreds of millions?¹⁶ True the later period of the Veda did witness the development of a pantheistic unity in the Upanishads, but the Upanishads come much later than the hymns, and between the period of the hymns and the period of the Upanishads lie some centuries in which the progress was towards a more and more complex polytheism, to which the philosophy of the Upanishads gave a pantheistic not a monotheistic unity, so that the very philosophy of the Upanishads affords a means of multiplying ever more and more the

¹⁵ *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 251.

¹⁶ 330,000,000 is said to represent the total of the Hindu pantheon.

gods, each of whom is but a new manifestation of one living self that pervades all things. Brahmanism did not check, it organized polytheism, and still the wild growth went on with all the luxuriance of an Indian jungle, idolatry, sorcery, fetishism,¹⁷ the rites of Saivism and Saktism growing up, multiplying, developing, until the further the Veda is left behind the more polytheistic are the people of India.

Viewed in the light of these facts, the higher features of early Aryan religion, on which we have dwelt at some length, seem to us rather to indicate earlier monotheism than a progress upwards from nature worship. From our point of view the history of the Aryan religion is more intelligible than from the point of view we are opposing. Gazing back through long centuries, out into the very twilight of history, we see the common ancestors of the Aryan race worshipping a supreme god, but already in the downward path towards polytheism, for they have raised up beside him powers of earth, and air, and sky, that soon will be called not spirits or demons but gods—superstition, magic, divination, all those uncouth rites that spring out of man's longing for communion with the unseen world are perhaps helping to do the work of raising up the strange gods; nature-worship has begun, the sky becomes personified as the giver of light and rain; the fire, once the means of consuming the sacrifice offered to a higher power as a token of worship and submission, becomes itself the recipient of the sacrifice, a living thing, animated by a manifold spirit. Perhaps at first, as among the Parsees of to-day, it is a mere type of the deity, later among the Indo-Aryans, it becomes itself a god, and hymns are sung: "O Fire (Agni) accept this log which I offer to thee, accept this my service, listen to these my songs." The separation of Indian and Iranian, the moving off to westward and northward of tribes called in later times Kelts, Teutons, Lithuanians, Slavs, Romans, Hellenes, breaks up the national unity and gives free scope to individual ten-

¹⁷ With regard to fetishism and the theory that identified early religion with it Professor Max Müller says: "I myself certainly held it for a long time, and never doubted it till I became more and more startled by the fact that, while in the earliest accessible documents of religious thought we look in vain for any very clear traces of fetishism, they become more and more frequent everywhere in the later stages of religious development, and are certainly more visible in the later corruptions of the Indian religion, beginning with the Atharvana, than in the earliest hymns of the Rig-Veda" (*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 60). We have here at least clear evidence, not of progress, but of decline.

dencies in the way of divergence. While some common names and characteristics run through all the Aryan religions, each assumes its own special phase from the character of each people and its surroundings. The mythology of the men of the northern forests is very different from that of the first tillers of Latium, and that of early Rome is not the same as that of the quick-witted, pleasure-loving Greek, with his beautiful land and his natural bent for poetry. Most marked of all is the divergence between the faiths of Iran and India. Iran is saved from the gross polytheism and naturalism of other lands, but even here the downward progress is not entirely arrested; yet the faith of the Avesta is a spiritual one, while in India there is a rapid departure from such conceptions as that of Varuna, the Asura *par excellence*, the supreme spiritual god whose "all-encompassing" presence is but imaged by the "all-encompassing" firmament. New gods displace even the older and simpler nature-deities. Varuna gives way to Indra, the sky no longer the mere type of his presence, becomes as the sky of night identical with him, while Mitra reigns as the god of the day. But this is only the first step in a downward progress, soon Varuna, degraded into a mere god of the waters, is all but forgotten among a host of demi-gods; even his supplanter, Indra, is in his turn pushed aside, Brahmâ, Siva, and Vishnu, are the chief gods amid a huge multitude, all manifestations of Brahma, the great principle of all things; polytheism is organized, fixed like a yoke on the neck of the Indo-Aryan, bowing him lower and lower till in our own day of Hindus who still believe at all in the old gods the majority are the timid worshippers of malicious demons.¹⁸

The idea of a continuous upward progress of unaided human thought in the sphere of religion is of course more flattering to human pride than this picture of a decline from higher to lower phases of belief and practice. But we are dealing with a question not of feeling, or theories, but of facts, and unless one is prepared to recognize as a high development a pantheistic

¹⁸ Professor Monier Williams, giving his impressions of the religious state of India from personal experience, writes thus: "I verily believe that the religion of the mass of the Hindus is simply demonolatry. Men and women of all classes, except perhaps those educated by themselves, are perpetually penetrated with the idea that from the cradle to the grave they are being pursued and persecuted not only by destructive demons, but by simply mischievous imps and spiteful goblins. This, in my opinion, is the true explanation of the universal worship of Ganésa, lord of the demon hosts" (*Contemporary Review*, September, 1878, p. 265).

system that not only tolerated, but promoted and gave a *raison d'être* and an excuse for polytheistic idolatry, it is hard to see much progress in the phases of religious thought in India from the days when the Vedic hymns were sung to our own, except where directly or indirectly Western Christendom has influenced the Indian mind. As to the Veda itself, is it not a perfectly tenable view that from the first it contains a higher and a lower element, that of a spiritual faith and a growing nature worship existing side by side in a period of transition?

We hope to deal more fully with this and other points on which we have only been able to touch in this article. We have tried to trace, at least in outline, the grounds on which we maintain that the old Aryan faith before the days of Veda, Avesta, or Iliad was neither entirely nor primarily a worship of nature, that it contained a spiritual element, and that so far from its being inconsistent with an earlier monotheism, there is much in the results of modern research pointing to monotheistic features in the Aryan religion, indicating an earlier monotheism underlying and still latent in it. In this inquiry we have endeavoured from first to last to base each step on definite facts and to make none but legitimate deductions from them. But we pretend to no infallibility, and the ground is both new and difficult, so that there may be much to criticize even in our criticism of others. Authorities have been cited throughout for all but the most familiar facts, where there is authority for the view adopted it has been indicated; and on those points where the writer is alone responsible for the view taken, the grounds on which it rests have been given as fully as our limits would permit. We have, as we said before, endeavoured to keep a definite issue in view, and thus we have tried to clear the ground for further excursions in the same field. Our object is not to develope any new proof for revelation, there are proofs enough of another order, and we have no *à priori* ground for expecting to add anything particularly novel to them from the scattered fragments which we possess of the early history of the Aryan tribes. Only indirectly can any results obtained bear upon questions connected with revelation. When we take up the records of ancient religions we do it without a shadow of anxiety or fear for the treasured truths of our own. We gladly welcome all the light that patient research can throw on the old faiths of the Veda, the Avesta, and the Kings, and the later developments of Buddhism and of Islam, and we are ready frankly to

accept every proved result. Of all men a Catholic student need have the least fear of any outcome of honest research; of all men he has most to hope and least to apprehend from its progress. Unlike those whose grounds of belief are as liable to daily revision as their tenets, he can even afford to let a seeming difficulty rest without any of that feverish anxiety to solve it which so often leads to the hasty adoption of an untenable hypothesis. Confident in the ultimate unity of all truth—for does not all truth belong to his God?—he knows that time and further progress in knowledge will tend to the ultimate solution of what now seems involved and difficult. This is the true standpoint for the Catholic student with regard to the modern so-called science of religions. Standing on his own firm ground, he must work by sound critical methods, rejecting the baseless hypothesis and the mere unfounded assertion, even where it seems to tell for some favourite view of his own; opposing the sceptical school of investigators, the men who say that "our age is the age of history, for it is the age of doubt as to dogma,"¹⁸ but opposing them not by a mere destructive criticism of their theories, but by investigating for himself, accepting well-established results wherever they come from, grouping them into a self-consistent system, and thus building up a solid rampart for the truth. In its broader outlines, this examination of non-Christian religions is no new work for Catholics, but they have as yet, with some exceptions, not fully realized the facilities for the study which our time has provided, nor have they adapted their methods to the new state of things.

The field is a vast one, and there is room in it for many workers. We enter it to glean rather than to reap. Our task is no ambitious one; we are going to deal with some of the more elementary parts of the subject. We shall endeavour to make a survey of the religions of the East, taking as our text the series of Sacred Books of which we have already spoken in these pages. We shall try to give our readers a fair impression of their contents, pointing out their bearing on the history of mankind, and examining certain theories that they have suggested as to the religions of the world. What we have already said of the Aryan faith is our first onward step to this study. But we shall not have to examine only Aryan books. The books of China come early in the series, and in the order of ideas it

¹⁸ Ernest Rénan, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1880, Lecture of April 14.

closes with the Semitic Koran. Perhaps we shall also have to consider incidentally the beliefs of other lands, and glean from the narratives of travellers and missionaries something of the unwritten creeds of barbarous tribes, in order to throw some light upon the texts before us. We shall not attempt to follow any fixed chronological sequence, but we shall begin with the books that close the Vedic period in India—the Upanishads. Professor Max Müller has placed them first in his series, and in his *Hibbert Lectures* has given an estimate of them, from which we shall have to differ very widely. Perhaps, as we have so often quoted him, and shall have often to do so again, we may be allowed to say here that, often as we have to differ from him, and much as we regret that he has so prominently associated his name with certain views, we must always feel towards him not only respect, but something of personal gratitude, for of all the men of our day, he has done most to render possible those very studies of the religions of the East from which we hope for valuable and lasting good to result in no distant future, and for the present writer, as for so many others, he has been the first guide to the wide regions whose portal lies through the study of language. We have said we hope for great results from the study of Eastern religions in Europe. In saying this, we have, amongst other things, very prominently before our minds the subject of our Catholic missions. One of the first results we may hope for from a more general knowledge amongst us of the non-Christian religions of the world is the awakening of a deeper interest in the work of our missions, not only in the historic lands of the East, but throughout the world. We may thus hope for more prayer for those who, centuries after the birth of Christianity, are still sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death, and with this more of personal sacrifice and co-operation in mission work, and even more of thankfulness for the inestimable treasure we ourselves possess,—a thankfulness to be shown in deeds rather than words.

Chronicles of The Stage.

CHAPTER IX.

THE UNITED COMPANY.

THIS mixed company, as it was called, still keeping on the old house at Dorset Gardens, now started on its course, at first with great encouragement. There was but the remnant of the old King's company—Cartwright, Griffin, Goodman, Duke, Watson, Powell, senior, Wiltshire; Mrs. Corey, Mrs. Boutell, Mrs. Cook, and Mrs. Monfort. Hart does not appear to have returned to the stage, while Mohun "survived not long after." Both were now veterans, and were no doubt glad to enjoy the convenient pensions that had been secured to them. Smith, too, another excellent actor, soon dropped away. Hart's merits seem to have been sufficiently appreciated in the chronicles of the stage. Yet he appears to have been remarkable in style and character, suggesting the idea of the late Mr. Macready. He was grave, stately, almost "pedant in all that concerned the dignity of the stage;" and in characters where weight and power and passion were required, such as Othello, Alexander, Amintor in the *Maid's Tragedy*, almost unsurpassed. "Towards the latter end of his acting, if he acted in any one of these but once a fortnight the house was filled as at a new play, especially Alexander: he acting that with such grandeur and agreeable majesty that one of the Court was pleased to honour him with this commendation, that Hart might teach any king on earth how to comport himself." Thus says Mr. Downes, the prompter of his company. "What Mr. Hart delivers," Rymer declares, "every one takes upon content; their eyes are prepossessed and charmed by his action before aught of the poet's can approach their ears; and to the most wretched of characters he gives a lustre and brilliance which dazzles the sight that the deformities in the poetry cannot be perceived." Nor was the internal management of the theatre of such a character as to bring

success. A company, a member of which was the facetious Jo Hayns, whose antics were of about the same character as those of a circus clown, was not likely to be regulated by the strict discipline necessary for the proper maintenance of the legitimate drama. The mention of this droll, with whom the Merry Monarch used to entertain himself, suggests a little incident behind the scenes in which he was concerned, and will help us to a view of theatrical manners in these times. His life, it seems, was "all of a pièce, he being a comedian both on and off the stage. In all his Protean shapes, whether the plain Jo Hayns, the learned Dr. Hayns, or the dignified Count Hayns, in all his disguises had more of the humourist than the impostor. His frauds were rather to be called his frolics."¹

Mr. Hart had been much displeased with the discreditable issue of a mission to France for the theatre, and had marked his displeasure by some severity. For this the facetious Jo determined to revenge himself, and played him this trick. One night when the serious tragedy of *Cataline's Conspiracy* was being performed, which required a great number of senators, Mr. Hart—

Being chief of the house would oblige Jo to dress for one of these senators, although Jo's salary being then fifty shillings per week freed him from any such obligations. But Mr. Hart being, as I said before, sole governor of the play house, and at a small variance with Jo, commands it, and the other must obey. Jo being vexed at the slight Mr. Hart had put on him, found out this method of being revenged. He gets a scaramouch dress, a large full ruff, makes himself whiskers from ear to ear, puts on his head a long merry-andrew's cap, a short pipe in his mouth, a little three-legged stool in his hand, and in this manner follows Mr. Hart on the stage, sits himself down behind him, and begins to smoke his pipe, to laugh and to point at him. Which comical figure put all the house in an uproar, some laughing, some clapping, and some hollowing. Now Mr. Hart, as those that knew him can aver, was a man of that exactness and grandeur on the stage, that let what would happen, he would never discompose himself, or mind anything but what he then represented, and had a scene fallen behind him, he would not at that time have looked back to see what was the matter, which Jo knowing remained still smoking; the audience continued laughing, Mr. Hart acting and wondering at this unusual occasion of their mirth, sometimes thinking it some disturbance in the house, again, that it might be something amiss in his dress; at last,

¹ The life of the late famous comedian Jo Hayns, containing his 1701 comical exploits and adventures both at home and abroad.

turning himself towards the scenes, he discovered Jo in the aforesaid posture; whereupon he immediately goes off the stage swearing he would never set foot on it again unless Jo was immediately turned out of doors, which was no sooner spoke, but put into practice.

These droll incidents were significant, and prove the existence of a certain demoralization "on the boards." Again :

Jo Hayns, narrowly escaping being seized and sent to Bastile for personating an English peer and running three thousand livres in debt in Paris, set up a droll booth in Bartholomew Fair and acted a new droll called *The Devil and the Pope*.

A couple of bailiffs seized him in an action of £20 as the Bishop of Ely was passing by in his coach. Quoth Jo to the bailiffs, "Gentlemen, here's my cousin the Bishop going into his house; let me but speak to him and he'll pay the debt and the charges." The bailiffs thought they might venture this as they were within three or four yards of him. So up goes Jo to the coach, pulling off his hat, and got close to it. The Bishop ordered the coach to stop, while Jo, close to his ear, said softly: "My lord, here are two poor men who have such great scruples of conscience that I fear they'll hang themselves." "Very well," said the Bishop; so calling to the bailiffs he said: "You two men come to me to-morrow morning and I'll satisfy you." The men bowed and went away; Jo (hugging himself with his fallacious device) went also his way. In the morning the bailiffs, expecting the debt and charges, repaired to the Bishop's, where, being introduced: "Well," said the Bishop, "what are your scruples of conscience?" "Scruples?" said the bailiffs, "we have no scruples; we are bailiffs, my lord, who yesterday arrested your cousin, Jo Hayns, for £20. We hope your lordship will be as good as your word." The Bishop reflecting that his name and honour would be exposed if he complied not, paid the debt and charges.

But now for another story of him. Jo, walking in Cross Street, by Hatton Garden, sees a fine venison pasty come out of Glossop's, a pastrycook's shop, which a boy carried to a gentleman's house thereby. Jo watched it, and seeing a gentleman knock at the door, he goes to the door and asked him if he had knocked at it. "Yes," said the gentleman. The door is opened, in goes the gentleman, and Jo after him to the dining-room. Chairs were set and all ready for the pasty. The master of the house took Jo for the gentleman's friend whom he had invited to dinner, which being over, the gentleman departed. Jo sat still. Says the master of the house to Jo: "Sir, I thought you would have gone with your friend." "My friend," said Jo, "alas! I never saw him before in my life." "No, sir," replied the other; "Pray, sir, then how came you to dinner here?" "Sir," said Jo, "I saw a venison pasty carried in here, and by this means have dined very heartily of it. My name is Jo Hayns," said he, "I belong to the

theatre." "O Mr. Hayns," continued the gentleman, "you are very welcome; you are a man of wit; come bring t'other bottle." Which being finished, Jo with good manners departed, and purposely left his cane behind him, which he designed to be an introduction to another dinner there; for the next day, when they were gone to dinner, Jo knocked briskly at the door to call for his cane, when the gentleman of the house was telling a friend of his the trick he played the day before. "Pray call Mr. Hayns in." "So, Mr. Hayns," said he, "sit down and partake of another dinner." "To tell you the truth," said Jo, "I left my cane yesterday on purpose." At which they all laughed.

We now approach the first of those Drury Lane "revolts," which were to be so often repeated later. It will be seen that as the rivals were now amalgamated, there was a dramatic monopoly in force, at whose mercy both the town and the actors were placed. The actors had no other place to act, but at the one house; and the town had no other house where they could see plays. Further, so large an operation as the union of two theatres could not be carried out without capital, which was supplied by the leading shareholders from the Dorset Gardens. "Shares of the patentees," says Cibber, "were promiscuously sold out to money making persons called adventurers, who though utterly ignorant of theatrical affairs were still admitted to a proportionate vote in the management of them."² These directors, we are told, only thought of dividends, holding ten shares out of the twenty into which the property was divided, and considered that all "practical encouragement to actors" was so much deducted from the profits of the venture. This "encouragement" would seem to have taken the shape of occasional gratifications of a sum of twenty or even fifty pounds to a favourite actor on some extraordinary success. A system of *douceurs* in fact, not very wholesome in principle.

Twenty years later some of the shares of the theatre were held by Lord Guilford, Dame Brownlow, Lord T. Harvey, Sir Edward Smith, and other persons, who no doubt represented the families of the original adventurers in Dorset Gardens. It does not seem likely that these were mere speculators, greedy only for money. It seems far more probable that the direction remained with Mr. Davenant, a man of little theatrical taste, and who deserted the stage for legal and political pursuits.

² Cibber is not very accurate in his account of this crisis, e.g., placing the union in 1682 instead of 1684. So we may hesitate to accept this account of the "adventurers," as stated in the text, these were no doubt the original partners, and not a fresh creation of shareholders.

Charles Killigrew, if he was allowed to interfere much in the direction, was, as we have seen, an embarrassed man ; so that the one lacking means, and both sympathy, there was a want of harmony between the management and the company.

It was stated that another reason for discord were the claims of Betterton, who was actually a partner in the venture, and who from his high reputation and influence, as well as from his being the chief attraction at the theatre, naturally considered that his suggestions should be considered. The real grievance would, however, seem to have been that the lay direction, or shareholders, received half the profits, whereas, as Cibber points out, latterly only three of the leading actors had had two-thirds of all the profits divided among them. This would seem to have been unreasonable, as the shareholders had found the money in that proportion. Cibber, who joined the company in 1690, seems to rest entirely on this pecuniary grievance, complaining of "those ten taskmasters," and of the "drones in the theatrical hive," who thus oppressed the working actors, and of the "heavy establishment under which the united company groaned." This then seems to show that the grievance was that the actors were not sufficiently considered in proportion to the services they rendered.

There was now a growing discontent. Betterton, who had many friends among the nobility and gentry, no doubt felt himself encouraged and supported in his remonstrances. It is quite plain that the undertaking was labouring under serious money embarrassments, and that the directors, who were losing by it, were obliged to curtail their expenses in every way.

Though the success of the *Prophets* and *King Arthur* (two dramatic operas, in which the patentees had embarked all their hopes) was, in appearance, very great, yet their whole receipts did not so far balance their expense as to keep them out of a large debt, which it was publicly known was about this time contracted, and which found work for the Court of Chancery for about twenty years following, till one side of the cause grew weary. But this was not all that was wrong ; every branch of the theatrical trade had been sacrificed to the necessary fitting out of those tall ships of burthen that were to bring home the Indies. Plays of course were neglected, actors held cheap, and slightly dressed, while singers and dancers were better paid, and embroidered. These measures of course created murmurings on one side, and ill-humour and contempt on the other. When it became necessary, therefore, to lessen the charge, a resolution was taken to begin with the salaries of the actors ; and what seemed to make this resolution more necessary at this time,

was the loss of Nokes, Monfort, and Leigh, who all died about the same year. No wonder then if, when these great pillars were at once removed, the building grew weaker, and the audiences very much abated. Now in this distress, what more natural remedy could be found than to incite and encourage (though with some hazard) the industry of the surviving actors. But the patentees, it seems, thought the surer way was to bring down their pay in proportion to the fall of their audiences. To make this project more feasible, they proposed to begin at the head of them, rightly judging that if the principals acquiesced, their inferiors would murmur in vain. To bring this about with a better grace, they, under pretence of bringing younger actors forward, ordered several of Betterton's and Mrs. Barry's chief parts to be given to young Powell and Mrs. Bracegirdle. In this they committed palpable error; for while the best actors are in health, and still on the stage, the public is always apt to be out of humour when those of a lower class pretend to stand in their places. This the patentees did not consider, or pretended not to value, while they thought their power secure and uncontrollable. But farther, their first project did not succeed; for though the giddy head of Powell accepted the parts of Betterton, Mrs. Bracegirdle had a different way of thinking, and desired to be excused from those of Mrs. Barry's. Her good sense was not to be misled by the insidious favour of the patentees; she knew the stage was wide enough for her success without entering into any such rash and invidious competition with Mrs. Barry, and therefore wholly refused acting any part that properly belonged to her. But this proceeding, however, was warning enough to make Betterton be upon his guard, and to alarm others with apprehensions of their own safety, from the design that was laid against him. Betterton, upon this, drew into his party most of the valuable actors, who, to secure their unity, entered with him into a sort of association to stand or fall together. All this the patentees for some time slighted; but when matters drew towards a crisis, they found it advisable to take the same measures, and accordingly opened an association on their part; both of which were severally signed, as the interest or inclination of either side led them.

During these contentions, which the impolitic patentees had raised against themselves (not only by this I have mentioned, but by many other grievances, which my memory retains not), the actors offered a treaty of peace, but their masters, imagining no consequence could shake the right of their authority, refused all terms of accommodation. In the meantime, this dissension was so prejudicial to their daily affairs, that I remember it was allowed by both parties that before Christmas the Patent had lost the getting of at least a thousand pounds by it.³

All these causes contributed, but it will be seen that what directly led to the secession was the tyranny and unpopularity

³ Cibber, *Apology*, chap. vi.

of one administrator. Some twenty year later Charles Killigrew was complaining sorely that "Dr. Davenant and those claiming under him have for the greater part of the time taken on them the sole government."⁴ The person who claimed under him was Alexander Davenant, to whom Dr. Davenant, on August 30, 1687, had assigned his patent. On March 24 of the following year Alexander sold it to Christopher Rich. It will be seen presently that this well-known unpopular personage was the real oppressor of the actors.

Now with all this "screwing" and cheapening of the actors, the reasonable conclusion would be that the management should have made money. Mr. Cibber, as we have seen, represents them as suffering a series of steady losses. But this pleasant writer is not always very accurate; and he is confuted by the declaration of the patentees themselves, who in a petition dated many years earlier, submitted that "they had enjoyed it quietly till about Lady Day 1695, their clear profits after all expenses amounting, one year with another, to £1,000."⁵ Cibber, therefore, would seem to have been misinformed as to the great losses incurred.

Before, however, matters came to a crisis, there was a span of thirteen years during which the united company performed. It was mainly remarkable for the production of that most touching and poetical of plays, *Venice Preserved*, brought out in 1682, and whose favourable reception illustrates that curious and contradictory relish of virtue by the vicious which is so often displayed by audiences.⁶ At this time, too, a fierce contest was raging between the Whigs and Tories on the exclusion of the Duke of York and other political questions, and the stage was made to reflect the controversy in the most open fashion. Little, Shadwell, and others, made their heroes utter speeches about liberty, the constitution, tyranny, &c., while Dryden, Dufey, and Otway lashed their opponents in the most personal style. Lord Shaftesbury had been thus ridiculed by Dryden, his infirmities described in majestic lines. Nor were the poets restrained by the presence of the King from making offensive

⁴ Petition, 1709. British Museum.

⁵ Petition of Lord Guilford and others, 1709. British Museum.

⁶ This could be illustrated by a reminiscence of Mr. Thackeray's in one of his Lectures, where he describes a Frenchman at a supper entertaining the company with a pathetic song about his mother, sung with such feeling as to draw tears from the audience, and even from himself. Thus encouraged, he supplemented it by a *chanson grivois* of a revolting kind.

allusions to his brother. As the King himself had not been spared, this was scarcely surprising.

In 1685, this merry patron of the drama and all that was diverting passed away. The news of his death was a shock to at least one member of the theatrical world. Crowne, a playwright of the day, having grown tired of his calling, had recently asked him for a place at Court, which the good-natured King readily promised, on the terms that he should write one more piece. He even put into his hands a Spanish comedy, the plot of which he bade him "adapt." It was written, put in rehearsal, but on the last day before performance the player met Underhill coming away from the theatre, and sharply rebuked him for leaving his post. "Oh, we are all undone!" said the other. "How!" said the other peremptorily; "is the playhouse on fire?" "The whole nation," was the reply, "will quickly be so; for the King is dead." The poet was nearly distracted at the inopportune destruction of all his prospects.

The King, it was known, did not relish Shakespeare, who, during the first ten years of the Restoration, was put aside almost altogether in favour of Beaumont, and Fletcher, and other writers. When the public began to call for his works, and in the occasional pieces of the day there are many satirical allusions to this neglect, the device was found of vamping up, or adapting plays, to which labour such eminent hands as Dufey, and others, applied themselves diligently. Another plan for making them attractive was the turning them into operas by the aid of music, machines, dancing, &c., and with successful results. Molière and Shakespeare thus suffered in company. As we have seen, the King was partial to the French model of pieces, which the fashionable play-makers were not slow to gratify. The gloomy James was not likely to prove a patron of the drama, but he was kind to the players, and various instances are recorded of this good-nature.

When William the Third was placed upon the throne, the managers were still carrying on the struggle with their actors, and were unpopular with the company. But it was the coming to power of a new director that had the most prejudicial effect upon their mutual relations. It will be recollected that the patent and the theatre were distinct properties, the former being a privilege in the Davenants and Killigrew, the latter in those "adventurers" who had found the money for the building. The latter were powerless without the former, though they had,

of course, not ventured their capital without acquiring a hold upon the patent. In the year 1688, on March 24, Alexander Davenant sold his patent to Christopher Rich, a personage who was now to figure conspicuously in the theatrical troubles. He was a lawyer, and was therefore presumed to be litigious and quarrelsome. A "critic," in a dialogue of the times, sketches him :

Critic. In the other house there's an old snarling lawyer master and sovereign ; a waspish, ignorant, pettifogger in law and poetry ; one who understands poetry no more than algebra ; he would sooner have the grace of God than do everybody justice. What a pox has he to do so far out of his way ? Can't he pore over his Plowden and Dalton, and let Fletcher and Beaumont alone ?

Ramb. I'll be hanged but thou owest the old fellow a spite ; 'gad if one knew the truth, he has not used thee well.

Crit. I never had, nor ever will have anything to do with him, nor his people, men or women.

Sull. Well, good language however, Mr. Critic. But besides, your exception's naught ; that gentleman is not sovereign, as you call him.

Crit. No ! Pray who is ?

Sull. A gentleman of superior quality, and a gentleman of good sense.

Crit. I know whom you mean, and I grant he has a share in the patent, but not any in the management of the house ; for I tell you, the other is monarch of the stage, though he knows not how to govern one province in his dominion, but that of signing, sealing, and something else, that shall be nameless.

It was under the government of this obnoxious person that a strange incident occurred, which has furnished a chapter to the romance of the stage. It has been often told, but it deserves a place here as belonging to the history of Drury Lane. It is the story of Mountford, a young and interesting actor, who was assassinated in the street by Lord Mohun.

Lord Mohun, a man of free character and rancorous spirit, had contracted a great intimacy with one Captain Hill, a man of scandalous and despicable life ; and was so fond of this fellow, that he entered into his schemes, and became a party in promoting his most criminal pleasures. This man had long admired Mrs. Bracegirdle, the celebrated actress, who treated him with disdain. He conceived that her aversion must proceed from having previously engaged her heart, and he became jealous of an actor called Mountford, probably from no other reason than the respect with which he observed Mr. Mountford invariably treated her, and their frequently playing together in the same scene.

Confirmed in this suspicion, he resolved to be revenged, and determined to have recourse to violence, and hired some ruffians to assist him in carrying her off. His chief accomplice in this scheme was Lord Mohun. They appointed an evening for that purpose, hired a number of soldiers and a coach, and went to the playhouse in order to find Mrs. Bracegirdle; but she, taking no part in the play that night, did not come. They then got intelligence that she was gone with her mother, to sup at one Mrs. Page's, in Drury Lane. Thither they went, and took their stations in expectation of Mrs. Bracegirdle's coming out.

She at last made her appearance, accompanied by her mother and Mr. Page. The two ruffians made a sign to their hired bravos, who laid their hands on Mrs. Bracegirdle; but her mother, who threw her arms round her waist, preventing them from thrusting her immediately into the coach, and Mr. Page gaining time to call assistance, their attempt was frustrated, and Mrs. Bracegirdle, her mother, and Mr. Page, were safely conveyed to her own house in Howard Street, in the Strand. Lord Mohun, and Hill, enraged at this disappointment, resolved, since they were unsuccessful in one part of their design, they would yet attempt another; and that night vowed revenge against Mr. Mountford. They went to the street where he lived, and there lay in wait for him. Old Mrs. Bracegirdle and another gentlewoman, who had heard them vow revenge against Mr. Mountford, sent to his house to desire his wife to let him know his danger, and to warn him not to come home that night; but, unluckily, no messenger Mrs. Mountford sent was able to find him. Captain Hill and Lord Mohun paraded the streets with their swords drawn; and when the watch made inquiry into the cause of this, Lord Mohun answered, that he was a peer of the realm, and dared them to touch him at their peril. The night-officers, being intimidated at this threat, left them unmolested, and went their rounds.

Towards midnight, Mr. Mountford, going home to his own house, was saluted, in a very friendly manner, by Lord Mohun; and as his lordship seemed to carry no mark of resentment in his behaviour, he made free to ask him how he came there at that time of night? To which his lordship replied, by asking if he had not heard of the affair of the woman? Mountford asked, what woman? to which he answered, Mrs. Bracegirdle. "I hope," says he, "my lord, you do not encourage Mr. Hill in his attempt upon Mrs. Bracegirdle; which, however, is no concern of mine." When he uttered these words, Hill came behind his back, gave him some desperate blows on his head; and, before Mr. Mountford had time to draw his sword, and stand on his defence, he run him through the body, and made his escape. The alarm of murder being given, the constable seized Lord Mohun, who, upon hearing that Hill had escaped, expressed great satisfaction, and said he did not care if he were hanged for him. When the evidences were examined at Hick's Hall, one Mr. Bencroft, who attended Mr. Mountford, swore that Mr. Mountford declared to him, as a dying

man, that, while he was talking to Lord Mohun, Hill struck him with his left hand, and with his right run him through the body, before he had time to draw his sword. Lord Mohun was tried and acquitted by his peers, as it did not appear that he immediately assisted Hill in perpetrating the murder, or that they had concerted it before; for, though they were heard to vow revenge against Mountford, the word murder was never mentioned. Besides his extraordinary talents as an actor, which we have seen won the praise of Cibber, he was the author of some dramas of merit.

The whole incident offers a curious illustration of the manners of the time. Here again, as in the case of Sir T. Coventry, we find, instead of a duel, bravo's work. But this was only a single experience of what was associated with stage amusements; and as the nobles who patronized them required that their vices should be reflected on the boards, so they seemed to think that all connected with the stage should be complaisant to their humours. Langbain, the critic, declares that "he once saw a real tragedy in the pit of Drury Lane Theatre, where Mr. Scrope received a mortal wound from Sir T. Armstrong, and died presently after being removed to a house opposite the theatre."

Meanwhile the actors were growing more and more discontented.

From this consideration, then, several persons of the highest distinction espoused their cause, and sometimes, in the circle, entertained the King with the state of the theatre. At length their grievances were laid before the Earl of Dorset, then Lord Chamberlain, who took the most effectual method for their relief. The learned of the law were advised with, and they gave their opinion, that no patent for acting plays, &c., could tie up the hands of a succeeding Prince from granting the like authority, where it might be thought proper to trust it. But while this affair was in agitation Queen Mary died, which of course occasioned a cessation of all public diversions. In this melancholy interim, Betterton and his adherents had more leisure to solicit their redress: and the patentees now finding that the party against them was gathering strength, were reduced to make sure of as good a company as the leavings of Betterton's interest could form; and these, you may be sure, would not lose this occasion of setting a price upon their merit, equal to their own opinion of it, which was but just double to what they had before. Powell and Verbruggen, who had then but forty shillings a week, were now raised each of them to four pounds, and others in proportion: as for myself, I was then too insignificant to be taken into their councils, and consequently stood among those of little importance, like cattle in a market, to be sold to the first

bidder. But the patentees seeming in the greatest distress for actors, condescended to purchase me. Thus, without any further merit than that of being a scarce commodity, I was advanced to thirty shillings a week : yet our company was so far from being full, that our commanders were forced to beat up for volunteers in several distant counties ; it was this occasion that first brought Johnson and Bullock to the service of the Theatre Royal.

Forces being thus raised, and the war declared on both sides, Betterton and his chiefs had the honour of an audience of the King, who considered them as the only subjects, whom he had not yet delivered from arbitrary power ; and graciously dismissed them with an assurance of relief and support. Accordingly a select number of them were empowered by his royal licence to act in a separate theatre for themselves.

The point was of course raised as to whether the patent was not in *perpetuum*, and to the exclusion of all other theatres. But the lawyers, on being consulted, declared that the Sovereign was not to be bound by an act of his predecessor. The point was to be raised again in more formal shape, some nineteen years later, where we shall consider it.

This great point being obtained, many people of quality came into a voluntary subscription of twenty, and some of forty guineas a-piece, for the erection of a theatre within the walls of a tennis-court, in Lincoln's Inn Fields. But as it required time to fit it up, it gave the patentees more leisure to muster their forces, who notwithstanding were not able to take the field till the Easter Monday in April following. Their first attempt was a revived play, called *Abdelazar, or the Moor's Revenge*, poorly written, by Mrs. Behn. The house was very full, but whether it was the play, or the actors, that were not approved, the next day's audience sunk to nothing. However, we were assured that, let the audience be never so low, our masters would make good all deficiencies, and so indeed they did, until the end of the season, when dues to balance came thick upon them.

The pleasant Downs tells us how the permissions were secured :

Betterton, Barry, and Bracegirdle appealed to Lord Dorset, and assisted by Sir R. Howard, procured a separate licence for Congreve, Betterton, Bracegirdle, Barry, and others to set up a new company, calling it "the New Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields ;" and the house, being fitted up from a tennis-court, opened the last day of April with *Love for Love*, written by Mr. Congreve. This comedy was superior in success than most of the precedent plays. This comedy being extraordinary well acted, chiefly the part of Ben the Sailor, it took thirteen days successively.

He gives the following graphic sketches of its dramatic career :

The principal new plays that succeeded from April, 1695, to the year 1704, were: *Lovers' Luck*, a comedy wrote by Captain Dilks, which filled the house six days together, and above £50 the eighth, the day it was left off. *The Grand Cyrus*, wrote by Mr. Banks: it was a good play; but Mr. Smith, having a long part in it, fell sick upon the fourth day and died; upon that it lay by, and never has been acted since. *The Mourning Bride*, a tragedy, wrote by Mr. Congreve, had such success that it continued acting uninterruptedly thirteen days together. *Boadicea, the British Queen*, wrote by Mr. Hopkins; it was a well writ play, in an Ovidian style in verse; it was liked and got the company money. *Heroic Love*, wrote by Mr. George Grenvil, superlatively written; a very good tragedy, well acted, and mightily pleased the Court and city. *Love's a Jest*, by Mr. Mateox. *The Anatomist, or Sham Doctor*, had prosperous success, and remains a living play to this day. It was done by Mr. Raverscroft's Don Quixot. *The She Gallants*, a comedy wrote by Mr. G. Grenvil when he was very young: extraordinary witty and well acted, but offending the ears of some ladies, it made its exit. And gave place to *Iphigenia*, wrote by Mr. Denning, a good tragedy and well acted, but answered not the expenses they were at in clothing it. *The Fate of Capua*, wrote by Mr. Southern; better to read than act; it was well acted but answered not the company's expectations. *Justice Busy*, a comedy wrote by Mr. Crown; it was well acted, yet proved not a living play. However, Mrs. Bracegirdle, by a potent and magnetic charm in performing a song, caused the stones of the streets to fly in the men's faces. *The Way of the World*, a comedy, wrote by Mr. Congreve; it was curiously acted, Madame Bracegirdle performing her part so exactly and just, gained the applause of Court and city; and being too keen a satire, had not the success the company expected. *The Ambitious Stepmother; Tamerlane; The Fair Penitent*, (by Rowe), a very good play for three acts, but failing in the two last, answered not their expectations. *The Biter*, a farce (by the same); it had a six days' run; the six days running it out of breath, it sickened and expired. *Abra-Mule*. These being all the chiefest new plays that have been acted by Mr. Betterton's company since its separation from Mr. Rich in the year 1695. The names of several of the actors I have not mentioned or offered to your view, as in the others, by reason the late acting of them makes them live in your memories.

Note.—In the space of ten years past, Mr. Betterton, to gratify the desires and fancies of the nobility and gentry, procured from abroad the best dancers and singers, as Monsieur L'Abbè, Madame Sublini, Monsieur Balen, Margarita Delpine, Maria Gallia, and divers others, who being exorbitantly expensive, produced small profit to him and his company but vast gain to themselves. Madame Delpine, since her

arrival in England, by modest computation, having got by the stage and gentry above ten thousand guineas.

Tory Ashton, however, tell us that there was one actor at least who remained loyal. This was Sandford, thus quaintly described as—

A proper person to discharge Jago, Foresight, and Ma'hgny in the *Villain*. He would not join with Nevill from Drury Lane. But said : "This is my agreement—To Samuel Sandford, gentleman, three score shillings a week." "Pho! pho!" said Mr. Betterton, "three pounds a week." "No, no!" said Sandford, "To Samuel Sandford, gentleman, three score shillings a week." For which Cave Underhill, who was a quarter sharer, would often jeer Sandford, saying: "Samuel Sandford, gent, my man." "So you sot," said Sandford. To which the other ever replied: "Samuel Sandford, my man Samuel."

CHAPTER X.

BETTERTON'S REVOLT.

THE new company was now ready for the contest. They had drawn away the flower of the actors from the old house, and had left them what might be mere intrinsic "tag-rag." "The disproportion," says the author of *The Comparison*, "was so great at parting, that it was almost impossible, in Drury Lane, to muster up a sufficient number to take in all the parts of any play; and of them so few were tolerable, that a play must of necessity be damned that had not extraordinary favour from the audience. No fewer than sixteen (most of the old standing) went away; and with them the very beauty and vigour of the stage; they who were left behind being for the most part learners, boys and girls, a very unequal match for them who revolted."

"After we had stolen some few days' march upon them," says Mr. Cibber, "the forces of Betterton came up with us in terrible order. In about three weeks following the new theatre opened against us, with a veteran company and a new train of artillery; or in plainer English, the old actors in Lincoln's Inn Fields began with a new comedy of Mr. Congreve's, called *Love for Love*; which ran on with such extraordinary success, that they had seldom occasion to act any other play until the end of the season. This valuable play had a narrow escape from falling into the hands of the patentees; for before the

division of the company it had been read and accepted of at the Theatre Royal: but while the articles of agreement for it were preparing, the rupture in the theatrical state took place. The elements of a broad and dignified policy was wanting on both sides; and the two houses soon condescended to acts that were only worthy of competing tradesmen in the same street. An instance of these tactics is thus related by Mr. Cibber:

It happened, upon our having information on a Saturday morning, that the Tuesday after *Hamlet* was intended to be acted at the other house, where it had not been seen; our merry managing actors (for they were now in a manner left to govern themselves) resolved, at any rate, to steal a march upon the enemy, and take possession of the same play the day before them. Accordingly, *Hamlet* was given out that night to be acted with us on the Monday. The notice of this sudden enterprize soon reached the other house, who, in my opinion, too much regarded it; for they shortened their first orders, and resolved that *Hamlet* should to *Hamlet* be opposed on the same day; whereas, had they given notice in their bills that the same play would be acted by them the day after, the town would have been in no doubt which house they should have reserved themselves for; ours must certainly have been empty, and theirs, with more honour, have been crowded. Experience, many years after, in like cases, has convinced me that this would have been the more laudable conduct. But be that as it may, when, in their Monday's bills, it was seen that *Hamlet* was up against us, our consternation was terrible, to find that so hopeful a project was frustrated. In this distress, Powell, who was our commanding officer, and whose enterprizing head wanted nothing but skill to carry him through the most desperate attempts; for, like others of his craft, he had murdered many a hero, only to get into his clothes. This Powell, I say, immediately called a council of war: where the question was, whether he should fairly face the enemy, or make a retreat to some other play of more probable safety? It was soon resolved that to act *Hamlet* against *Hamlet* would be certainly throwing away the play, and disgracing themselves to little or no audience; to conclude, Powell, who was vain enough to envy Betterton as his rival, proposed to change plays with them, and that, as they had given out the *Old Bachelor*, and had changed it for *Hamlet*, against us, we should give up our *Hamlet* and turn the *Old Bachelor* upon them. This motion was agreed to, *nemine contradicente*; but upon inquiry, it was found that there were not two persons among them who had acted in that play; but that objection, it seems (though all the parts were to be studied in six hours), was soon got over; Powell had an equivalent, *in petto*, that would balance any deficiency on that score; which was, that he would play the *Old Bachelor* himself, and mimic Betterton

throughout the whole part. This happy thought was approved with delight and applause, as whatever can be supposed to ridicule merit, generally gives joy to those that want it. Accordingly, the bills were changed, and at the bottom inserted, "The part of the *Old Bachelor* to be performed in imitation of the original." Printed books of the play were sent for in haste, and every actor had one, to pick out of it the part he had: to conclude, the curiosity to see Betterton mimicked, drew us a pretty good audience, and Powell (as far as applause is a proof of it) was allowed to have burlesqued him very well.

This theatre, like many old London theatres, remained standing in Clare Market, Vere Street, within living memory. On its site was erected the china works of Spode and Copeland. But a more extraordinary memorial still exists, carrying out its pristine function, viz., the old Black Jack Tavern, close to Clare Market, overhanging the street and supported on pillars. This quaint looking drinking house was much frequented by the Lincoln's Inn Fields actors, and notably by Mr. Joseph Miller, of jest-book memory. The streets here are twisted and tortuous. The whole is a singular specimen of survival, with its crazy tenements, neglect, and squalor: and all close to the civilized Strand!

We can quite picture the natural confusion and disorder that would arise on the opening of a playhouse in such a locality, and are prepared for the protest made by the orderly inhabitants in this very year 1695, who complained of being disturbed by the coaches and visitors, and moved the Court of King's Bench for a prohibition to restrain the company from acting. A rule was actually obtained, but cause was shown, and further time granted; but the company still acted on. Nor could the new Lincoln's Inn Fields house boast much of its discipline. It started with the fairest prospects, and with that rare aid to the fortunes of a new house, a successful piece, whose success was worthy of its merits. Congreve's admirable comedy, *Love for Love*, set off by the excellent acting of Dogget in *Foresight*, might have secured the fortunes of a less favoured enterprize. "You know," says Mr. Rambler, in the dialogue before quoted, "the new house opened with an extraordinary good comedy, the like has scarce been heard of." "I allow," answers the Critic, "that play contributed not a little to their reputation and profit: it was the work of a popular author; but that was not all. The town was engaged in its favour, and in favour of the actors, long before the play was acted." "The good humour," adds Mr.

Sullen, "that their noble patrons were in gave that comedy such infinite applause: and what the quality approve the lower sort take upon trust."¹ Cibber adds that, "though success poured in so fast upon them at the first opening, that everything seemed to support itself, yet experience in a year or two showed them that they had never been worse governed than when they governed themselves." They were indeed a commonwealth. One result of their success was the encouragement of vanity and jealousies in particular members; "and though some deference might be had to the measures and advice of Betterton, several of them wanted to govern in their turn; and were often out of humour that their opinion was not equally regarded. But have we not seen the same infirmity in senates? The tragedians seemed to think their rank as much above the comedians, as in the characters they severally acted." There was even a ludicrous jealousy as to dresses, the comedians resenting the outlay on fine clothes for the tragedies, which Dogget, an admirable actor, was weak enough to resent in an extraordinary manner; "and the late reputation which Dogget had acquired from acting his Ben, in *Love for Love*, made him a more declared malcontent on such occasions; he over-valued comedy for its being nearer to nature than tragedy, which is allowed to say many fine things that nature never spoke, in the same words; and supposing his opinion were just, yet he should have considered that the public had a taste as well as himself." Were this æsthetic reason his sole one, it were possible to sympathize with him; but it was reasonably suspected that he looked on the concern "as a sinking ship: not only from the melancholy abatement of their profits, but likewise from the neglect and disorder of their government." But this mercurial actor, who is brought to our recollection every year by the waterman's race on the Thames, was by-and-bye to give some further proofs of his uncertain temper.

There was evidence, however, that there was a sound dramatic principle at work in the old house at Drury Lane. The new recruits worked hard, and it was soon found that "the mushrooms in Drury Lane shot up from such a desolate fortune into a considerable name, and not only grappled with their rivals, but almost eclipsed them." It was noted that they took care to act everything as well as they could. They also showed an excellent instinct in the choice of their comedies,

¹ *Comparison between the two Stages.*

for it was during the early stage of this contention that Cibber's *Love's Last Shift* and Vanburgh's capital pieces, *The Relapse* and *The Provoked Husband*, were furnished to the English drama. The era that saw such a contribution could not be considered barren. It was scarcely surprising that these tactics should have given them the advantage, and that "the audience being in a little time sated with the novelty of the new house, returned in shoals to the old."²

This new house, on the other hand, being burdened with the heavy charges of starting, alteration, decoration, &c., soon began to be hampered for means to carry on with; and in these straits applied to their noble patrons for aid. "We know what importuning and dunning the noblemen there was, what flattering and what promising there was, till at length the encouragement they received by liberal contributions, set them in a condition to go on."³ Thus, then, the two rivals "traversed each other with uncertain fortune, this sometimes up, and that sometimes down, so that it was hard to say which was most like to prevail. And by this time the town, not being able to furnish our two good audiences every day, changed their inclinations for the two houses, as they found themselves inclined to comedy or tragedy. If they desired a tragedy, they went to Lincoln's Inn Fields; if to comedy, they flocked to Drury Lane, which was the reason that several days but one house acted." "But, alas! the vanity of applauded actors, when they are not crowded to as they may have been, makes them naturally impute the change to any cause rather than the true one, satiety. They are mighty loth to think a town, once so fond of them, could ever be tired; and yet, at one time or other, more or less, thin houses have been the certain fate of the most prosperous actors ever since I remember the stage."⁴

In spite, then, of all efforts the attendance began to drop off, and at the Theatre Royal it was found impossible to pay the actors their full salaries. The manager, when the receipts fell low, only paid in proportion: and Cibber declared that during six weeks he had not received a farthing.⁵ The other

² *Comparison between the two Stages.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ This curious observation of Cibber's is not supported by modern experience, the audiences being notoriously constant to all its favourites.

⁵ It would seem that "sharing" was now done away with, as Cibber speaks of salaries, and later of Wilks standing out for £4 a week.

house, in spite of the aristocratic support, came to the same pass a little later.

"Such," says the chronicler, "was the distress and fortune of both these companies since their division from the Theatre Royal: either working at half wages, or by alternate successes intercepting the bread from one another's mouths; irreconcilable enemies, yet without hope of relief from a victory on either side; sometimes both parties reduced, and yet each supporting their spirits by seeing the other under the same calamity."

Rich, the manager, is always drawn in uncomplimentary style, as an artful, pettifogging schemer, with certain powers of insinuation:

Our good master was as fly a tyrant as ever was at the head of a theatre, for he gave the actors more liberty, and fewer days pay, than any of his predecessors. He would laugh with them over a bottle, and bite them in their bargains; he kept them poor, that they might not be able to rebel; and sometimes merry, that they might not think of it. All their articles of agreement had a clause in them, that he was sure to creep out at, viz.: their respective salaries were to be paid in such manner and proportion as others of the same company were paid; which in effect made them all, when he pleased, but limited sharers of loss, and himself sole proprietor of profits; and this loss, or profit, they only had such verbal accounts of as he thought proper to give them. 'Tis true, he would sometimes advance them money (but not more than he knew at most could be due to them) upon their bonds, upon which, whenever they were mutinous, he would threaten to sue them.

This account seems rather prejudiced. It is admitted that the theatre was not "paying." It was impossible, therefore, to look for money where none was received. In dedications he is always addressed in the most complimentary strain; his wit and "sweetness of temper" is praised, and this circumstance of his advancing money to the players extolled. "How often did you send on your own money and recruit your actors with it when there was no other ammunition in the camp."⁶ This is the testimony of Estcourt, one of his company. There is, however, a touch of exaggeration about this praise, which is inscribed to "the serene Charles Rich, Chief Patentee and Governor," which would seem as though the praises were ironical. He was "a close, subtle man," as Cibber says, and was not only "chief patentee," but kept all his co-patentees without receiving a shilling's return from their property. For years he cleverly

⁶ Dedication to *Stage Beaux* tossed in a Blanket.

contrived to baffle them. These sharers were persons of such degree as Lord Guildford, Lord T. Harvey, Lady Brownlow, and Sir E. Smith, Sir Thomas Skipwith, Mrs. Shadwell, with Davenant and Killigrew. When they applied to the Court of Chancery, he eagerly welcomed law proceedings as a pretext for further delays and chicanery; and when they had driven him to a contempt of court, he was ready with new devices. In sheer despair, therefore, they were compelled to leave him in possession, and, until he was at last ejected, never received a shilling. "So that by this expedient our good master had long walked about at his leisure, cool and contented as a fox when the hounds were drawn off."⁷

In this state of things the play-writers found their account, and the managers of both theatres seem to have received amateurs and their works with a freedom that was almost reckless. Within half a dozen years it was computed that over one hundred and sixty pieces were brought forward, a large proportion of which did not survive the first night.

How this "opposition" engaged the interest and partisanship of the town, we learn from a vivacious writer and dramatist, named Gildon, who has left one of those rare little tracts which are so valuable as the record of a contemporary observer.⁸

I must confess [he says] I have been very free with the theatres, but I do not at all repent it. Their distempers wanted the incision knife, and I have given it them. But, indeed, the first temptation I had of spending my time thus, was the contemplation of our present poetry. I believe it never was at so low an ebb, and yet the stages were never so deluged. I am sure you can't name me five plays that have endured six days acting, for fifty that were damned in three. Just as in a time of a general plague, almost every man you meet has the tokens of the infection: they are no sooner out of the cradle but they enter into their graves. How this apostacy happens is obvious enough:

⁷ In the petition to Queen Anne, some ten years later, the ill-used patentees complain piteously that "since the year 1695 they have become yearly considerably losers, that they were at last compelled to trouble her Majesty with an application to prevent their being brought into danger of losing their whole estate in the said premises" (Drury Lane MSS. Brit. Mus. 20).

⁸ Gildon was author of the following plays: *The Roman Bride's Revenge*, Trag. 4to, 1697; *Phaeton, or the Fatal Divorce*, Trag. 4to, 1698; *Measure for Measure, or Beauty the best Advocate*, 4to, 1700; *Love's Victim, or the Queen of Wales*, Trag. 4to, 1701; *The Patriot, or the Italian Revenge*, Trag. 4to, 1703. In 1714 he published another dramatic critique, intitled *A New Rehearsal, or Bays the Younger*, 12mo. He died January 12, 1723-4. *Phaeton* is professedly written "in imitation of the ancients." It contains a Preface, with "some reflections on a book called *A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage* (Collier's)."

the division of the houses made way for a multitude of young writers, some of whom had nothing else to subsist on but their pens; and I despair of seeing our poetry restored till I see the houses united, for then the bad plays may be shut out. Some people find out a strange reason for this degeneracy: they say poetry has not been much encouraged in the late reign. But nothing can be more absurd. The people never were in a better humour for plays; nor were the houses ever so crowded, though the rates have run very high, sometimes to a scandalous excess; never did printed plays rise to such a price, and what is more, never were so many poets preferred as in the last ten years. If this be discouragement, I have done. On the contrary, the poets have had too great an encouragement, for it is the profit of the stage that makes so many scribblers, and surfeits the town with new eighteen-penny plays. This, and the freedom of two stages, have served poetry just as the two companies did the Indian trade, they have reduced it almost to nothing.

A sprightly dialogue takes place between a critic called Chagrin, Sullen, and another, which shows that the interest and critical observation was as deep as it would have been in any political matter. He speaks of "the perplexity I have been under concerning the success of the two playhouses. I have often wondered how they have so long subsisted in an age so barren of good plays and in such a dearth of wit, and when the wayward humour of the town makes it so difficult to please them long in any kind." Again, too, he asks:

Has it not been your wonder, as well as mine, that the two theatres should hold out so long? even against such difficulties as seemed to be invincible. The emulation between them has now lasted seven years, and everybody thought the town would long ago have determined in favour of one or the other; but in my opinion it was strange that the general defection of the old actors which left Drury Lane, and the fondness which the better sort showed for them at the opening of their new house, and indeed the novelty itself, had not quite destroyed those few young ones. *Ramb.* 'Tis true, the Theatre Royal was then sunk into a very despicable condition: very little difference appeared between that and the theatre at the Bear Garden. *Sull.* If you please, it was more like a bear-garden before; for they exercised neither humanity to one another nor to anybody else that had to do with them. *Crit.* As I hear, that matter is not mended yet. *Sull.* Truly I hear very little said in its behalf. I hear a great deal against it, and that there is a very notable difference between the two houses in point of civility and good treatment.

The series of plays given by both houses were, one said, detestable.

Sull. Why then we'll proceed from the first celebrated comedy at Lincoln's Inn Fields, and so hand 'em down rough as they run, good and bad, to this time. *Crit.* Damn it, 'tis counting of brass money, five pieces of gold may stand against a horse-load of it. Why I'll maintain it, there have been in both houses since the year '95, that is, since their division, about a hundred and three score plays: gad's my life, d'ye think I have the patience to hear 'em all examined? *Sull.* *Imprimis*, here's *Pyrrhus King of Epiru*. *Ramb.* Whose is that? *Sull.* Charles Hopkins', an Irish gentleman of good sense, and an excellent Ovidian. *Ramb.* What was its fate? *Sull.* Damn'd. *Ramb.* The next? *Sull.* *A Very Good Wife*. *Ramb.* That's almost a solecism: whose is it? *Sull.* Oh, an excellent author's! one George Powell's, the player. *Ramb.* What was its fate? *Sull.* Damn'd, damn'd, as it deserv'd. *Ramb.* The next? *Sull.* *Cyrus the Great*. *Ramb.* Whose was that? *Sull.* Banks's, which the players damn'd and would not act of a great while, but at length it was acted, and damn'd then in manner and form. *Ramb.* What's next? *Sull.* *Love's Last Shift*, or, *The Fool in Fashion*. *Ramb.* Ay, marry, that play was the philosopher's stone; I think it did wonders. *Sull.* It did so, and very deservedly; there being few comedies that came up to it for purity of plot, manners, and moral. It's often acted nowadays, and, by the help of the author's own good action, it pleases to this day. *Ramb.* Go on. *Sull.* *The Country Wake*. *Ramb.* Oh, that's Dogget's. The players have all got the "Itching leprosy of scribbling," as Ben Johnson calls it; 'twill in time descend to the scene-keepers and candle-snuffers. Come, what came on't? *Sull.* Not then directly damn'd, because he had a part in it himself, but it's now dead and buried. *Ramb.* The next? *Sull.* The third part of *Don Quixote*. *Ramb.* Oh, the over-running streams of Helicon! by all that's poetical, my friend Durfey; good lack! I thought I should meet with him before we got half way. Well, in the name of impudence, what luck? *Sull.* Damn'd, damn'd, to all intents and purposes. *Ramb.* His first and second part did well. *Sull.* Thanks to honest Miguel Cervantes, who gave him not only the story, but the very words. *Ramb.* Proceed to the next. *Sull.* *The Lost Lover*, or, *The Jealous Husband*. *Ramb.* I never heard of that. *Sull.* Oh, this is a lady's. *Ramb.* The next. *Sull.* *Mock Marriage*, a young fellow's of the town, a retainer, and kind of pensioner to the stage. *Ramb.* What was its fate? *Sull.* Damn'd, damn'd. *Unhappy Kindness*, the same author's, but every word stole. *Ramb.* The success? *Sull.* Damn'd. *Cornish Comedy*; no matter whose, 'twas damn'd. *Neglected Virtue*, damn'd. *Pausanias*, or, *Lover of his Country*, damn'd, though written by a person of quality, and protected by Southern. *Triumphs of Virtue*; though I think this no ill play, yet 'twas damned. The *City Bride*, by another player, damn'd; *Lady in Fashion*, by a player, damn'd; *Plot and no Plot*—*Ramb.* Hold, stop there. Count them we are past. *Sull.* I have marked them with my pencil as I went over them. Here's one, two,

three, four, five—here's just a score, of which number eighteen have had the honour to be damn'd.

A number of other plays are then enumerated: *Plot and no Plot*, of Dennis's; *Cynthia and Endymion*; *Nomoko*, the favourite of the ladies; *Heroic Love*, by Granville; *The She Gallants*. Both houses then got up the same play in rivalry, *Iphigenia*.

Sull. The Novelty; every word stolen, and then damn'd. *Ramb.* Have you any more? *Sull.* Oh, a hundred in another catalogue. Here's the *Innocent Mistress*—though the title calls this innocent, yet it deserves to be damn'd for its obscenity; *The Pretenders*, *City Lady*, *Lover's Luck*, *Roman Bride's Revenge*, *Beauty in Distress*, *Queen Catherine*, *Phaeton*, *Campaigners*, *Intrigues of Versailles*, these two last Durfey's again—*cum multis aliis quæ nunc*, and so forth; all damn'd, every son and daughter for ever. *Crit.* Mr. Congreve's reputation arises from his first, third, and fourth play, yet I must needs say that, according to my taste, his second is the best he ever wrote. *Ramb.* If you mean the *Double Dealer* you go against the opinion of all the town. *Crit.* I can't help that; I'll follow my own judgment as far as it will carry me, and if I differ from the voice of the crowd, I shall value myself the more for my sincerity. But you are mistaken; all the town was not of that opinion. Some good judges were of another, but, without being biassed or prejudiced, I do take the *Double Dealer* to be among the most correct and regular comedies. Mr. Congreve intended it so, and it cost him unusual labour to do it, but, as he says, he has been at a needless expense, and the town is to be treated at a cheaper rate. But with all Mr. Congreve's merit, I don't take his characters to be always natural. Even in the *Double Dealer* some are out of probability, one in his *Old Bachelor*, and several in *Love for Love* obsolete. *Sull.* But as I was saying—sometimes a song or a dance may be admitted into a play without offending our reason. I won't say it is at any time necessary, for some of our best tragedies have neither; but perhaps it may be done without offence, sometimes to alleviate the attention of the audience, to give the actors time and respite, but always with regard to the scene, for by no means must it be made a business independent of that. In this particular our operas are highly criminal; the music in them is for the most part an absurd impertinence. For instance, how ridiculous is it in that scene in the *Prophetess*, where the great action of the drama stops, and the chief officers of the army stand still with their swords drawn to hear a fellow sing, "Let the soldiers rejoice;" faith in my mind it is as unreasonable as if a man should call for a pipe of tobacco just when the priest and his bride are waiting for him at the altar. The examples are innumerable—no opera is without them. *Ramb.* At six I'll meet you at Lincoln's Inn Playhouse. *Sull.*

What play is it? *Ramb.* *The Way of the World*, with the new wonder, Madam d'Subligny. *Crit.* There's another toy now. Gad! there's not a year but some surprising monster lands; I wonder they don't first show her at Fleet Bridge with an old drum and a cracked trumpet—"Walk in and take your places; just going to show." *Ramb.* Let's meet there; methinks I long to be ogling Madam's feet. *Sull.* No, I'm not for meeting there; the *Generous Conqueror* is acted at the other house, and lest it should never be acted again, let's go see it to-night.

Sull. It was otherwise lately with Balon; the town ran mad to see him, and the prices were raised to an extravagant degree to bear the extravagant rate they allowed him. *Ramb.* But above all commend me to Signor Clement. *Crit.* I never knew the ladies so far out of their wits.

Indeed, the behaviour of the audiences seems to have been habitually brutal—a brutality, however, that must have been fostered by the multitude of bad dramas submitted to them. As one of them protested wittily enough:

Every fool, the lowest member of the mob, becomes a wit, and will have a fling at him. They come now to a full play like hounds to a carcass, and are all in a full cry, sometimes for an hour together, before the curtain rises to throw it amongst them. In a word, this new race of critics seems to me like the lion whelps in the tower, who are so boisterously game at their meals that they dash down the bowls of milk brought for their own breakfast.

The crafty manager was fertile in resources, and one of his devices for bringing back persons of quality to his house was one which was curiously destined to influence the stage. The footmen who attended their masters' coaches and chairs to the theatre used to arrive about the last act, and were then allowed admission to the gallery. Rich now announced that he would admit them *gratis* during the whole performance. This, as Cibber says, he imagined

Would not only incline them to give us a good word in the respective families they belonged to, but would naturally incite them to come all hands aloft in the crack of our applauses. And indeed it so far succeeded, that it often thundered from the full gallery above, while our thin pit, and boxes below, were in the utmost serenity. This riotous privilege, so craftily given, and which from custom was at last ripened into right, became the most disgraceful nuisance that ever depreciated the theatre.

Indeed among the annals of Drury Lane "footmen riots" were henceforth to be recorded.

Even the office accounts of the theatres at this period have come down to us, and we have actually the treasurer's account of the receipts and expenses of the King's company on the nights of the 12th Dec. and 26th Dec., 1677. The play was *All for Love*.

			£	s.	d.
The King's box	.	.	.	.	.
Mr. Hayle's box	.	.	.	3	0 0
Mr. Mohun's boxes	.	.	.	1	12 0
Mr. Yeate's boxes	.	.	.		12 0
James's boxes	.	.	.	2	0 0
14 Mr. Kent's pit	}	117	.	.	14 12 0
10 Mr. Britan's pit			.	.	
30 Mr. Bray's gallery	}	63	.	.	4 14 6
18 Mr. Johnson's gallery			.	.	
Mr. Thomson's gallery	.	.	.	1	13 0
					<hr/>
					£28 4 0
House rent	.	.	.	.	5 14 0
Music	.	.	.	.	.

For *Death of Alexander the Great* the account ran :

			£	s.	d.
The King's box	.	.	.	1	10 0
Mr. Hayle's boxes	.	.	.	2	16 0
Mr. Mohun's boxes	.	.	.	3	16 0
Mr. Yeate's boxes	.	.	.	1	15 6
James's boxes	.	.	.	2	4 0
34 Mr. Kent's pit, 112	}	191	.	.	23 17 6
16 Mr. Britain's pit, 79			.	.	
30 Mr. Bray's gallery, 100	}	144	.	.	10 16 0
40 Mr. Johnson's gallery, 44			.	.	
Upper Gallery, 119	.	.	.	5	19 0
Mrs. Kempton	.	.	.		5 0
					<hr/>
					£52 19 0
House rent	.	.	.	.	5 14 0
Music	.	.	.	.	.

The pit price was then 2s. 6d., the lower gallery 1s. 6d., and the upper gallery, 1s. It is not easy to see what is the exact meaning of "Mr. Mohun's boxes" and "Mr. Yeate's boxes," unless it be that these persons had disposed of such an amount of tickets.

The licence in the various pieces performed, even under the decorous Government of King William, became so excessive as to call for the issue of an "order" to the following effect, and dated

February 13, 1698.

His Majesty being informed that, notwithstanding an order made in June, 1697, by the Earl of Sunderland, then Lord Chamberlain of the King's Household, to prevent the profaneness and immorality of the stage, several plays have lately been acted containing several expressions contrary to religion and good manners, and whereas the Master of the Revels hath represented that, in contempt of the said order, the actors did neglect to leave out such profane and indecent expressions as he thought proper to be omitted, therefore it is his Majesty's pleasure that they shall not hereafter presume to act anything in any play contrary to religion and good manners, as they shall answer at their utmost peril.

At the same time the Master of the Revels was ordered not to license any play containing immoral or irreligious expressions, and to give notice to the Lord Chamberlain, "if the players presumed to act anything which he had struck out." Nor was this uncalled for, as there was a sort of buffooning irreverence at work, wholly undramatic. Writing in the same year, 1698, when *Farquhar's Love and Bottle* was performed, it was wound up by an epilogue spoken by Jo Hayns:

For about this time [says a quaint writer] the English stage was not only pestered with tumblers and rope dancers from France, but likewise dancing masters and dancing dogs: shoals of Italian squallers were daily imported, and the Drury Lane Company almost broke. Upon this occasion the facetious Jo Hayns composed this epilogue, and spoke it in mourning, viz.:

No *Royal Theatre*, I come to mourn for thee.
Vivitur ingenio,⁹ that damn'd motto there
 Seduced me first to be a wicked player.
 But can ye have the hearts tho'—pray, now speak—
 After all our services to let us break?
 Ye cannot do't unless the devil's in ye,
 What art, what merit, havn't we used to win ye.
 First, to divert ye with some new French strollers,
 We brought ye *Bona seres*, Barba Colers.¹⁰
 When this male throat no longer drew your money
 We got yon eunuch's pipe, Signor Pompony.
 An Italian now we got of mighty fame,
 Don Sigismondo Fideli—there's music in his name;
 His voice is like the music of the spheres.
 It should be heavenly for the price it bears.

⁹ Motto over the stage.

¹⁰ Mimic French singing.

Two critics thus discourse of the outlandish entertainments offered to "the town:"

The town ran mad, [one says] to see *Balon*, and the prices were raised to an extravagant degree to bear the extravagant rate they allowed him. But above all, commend me to Signor Clemente. . . . I never knew his ladies so out of the evils. The actors labour at this like so many galley slaves at an oar; they call in the fiddle, the voice, the painter, and the carpenter to help them; and what neither the poet nor the player could do, the mechanic must do for him. The town had seen their best at the drama; and now, I was going to say, the house looked like a brisk highwayman, who consults his perruque-maker about the newest fashion an hour before his execution. This new-fangled invention was a melodious whim. *Ramb.* How new-fangled, Mr. Sullen? you forget the *Prophetess*, *King Arthur*, and the *Fairy Queen*. *Sull.* I remember them; and pray are they not new? But, as I was saying, the opera now possesses the stage, and after a hard struggle, at length it prevailed, and something more than charges came in every night. The quality, who are always lovers of good music, flock hither, and by almost a total revolt from the other house, give this new life and set it in some eminency above the new. This was a sad mortification to the old stagers in Lincoln's Inn Fields; but, at length, they too——. *Crit.* Nay, there I will prevent you, good Mr. Sullen: I must have the honour of this speech. At last (as you say) the old stagers moulded a piece of pastry-work of their own, and made a kind of Lenten Fast with their *Rinaldo* and *Armida*. This surprised not only Drury Lane, but, indeed, all the town, nobody ever dreaming of an opera there. 'Tis true, they heard of Homer's *Illiads* in a nut-shell and *Jack in a Box*, and what not. But where's the wonder? why such amazement? *Sull.* Well, with this vigary they tugged awhile, and "The jolly, jolly breeze came whistling through" all the town, and not a fop but ran to see the *Celebrated Virgin* in a machine. There she shined in a full zodiac, the brightest constellation there. 'Twas a pleasant reflection all this time to see her situated among the bulls, capricorns, and sagittaries. *Crit.* But this merry time lasted not always. Everything has an end, and at length down goes Rinaldo's enchanted Mountain; it sunk as it arose, by magic, and there's now not so much as a mole-hill seen on it.

Oh what a charming sight [says the author of *The Comparison*] it was to see Madam —— swim it along the stage between her two gipsy daughters: they skated along the ice so cleverly, you might have sworn they were of right Dutch extraction. *Sull.* And the Sieur Allard——. *Crit.* Ay, the Sieur and the two monsieurs, his sons—rogues that show at Paris for a groat a-piece, and here they were an entertainment for the Court and his late Majesty. *Ramb.* Oh —— *Harlequin* and *Scaramouch*. *Crit.* Ay; what a rout here was with a night-piece of *Harlequin* and *Scaramouch*, with the guitar and bladder! What jumping over tables and joint-stools! What ridiculous postures and grimaces!

and what an excellent trick it was to straddle before the audience, making a thousand damned French faces. *Sull.* And yet the town was so fond of this, that these rascals brought the greatest houses that ever were known. 'S-death I am scandalized at these little things; I am ashamed to own myself of a country where the spirit of poetry is dwindled into vile farce and foppery. *Ramb.* But what have you to say to Madam Ragonde and her eight daughters? I assure you I think Nivelong a very humourous dancer.

At the other house a rival *Iphigenia* was brought out at great cost, but which failed. Rival Shakespeare plays were then attempted. Any that this one house attempted was "trumped" by the other. No wonder a contemporary wrote of these freaks in 1699:

Of late the play-houses are so extremely pestered with vizard masks and their trade (occasioning continued quarrels and abuses), that many of the more civilized part of the town are uneasy in their company, and shun the theatres as they would a house of scandal. It is an argument of the worth of players and actors of the last age, and easily inferred, that they were much beyond ours in this, that they could support themselves merely from their own merit. The weight of the matter and goodness of the action, without scenes and machines; whereas the present plays, with all that show, can hardly draw an audience, unless there be the additional invitation of a Signor Fideli or Monsieur L'Abbé, or some such foreign regale expressed at the bottom of the bill, "*Historia Histrionia.*"

Among the pieces of Lincoln's Inn Fields, we are told by Downes the prompter, were produced in 1695:

The Proptuss or Diocletius, an opera, wrote by Mr. Betterton; being set out with costly scenes, machines, and clothes. The vocal and instrumental music done by Mr. Purcel; and dances by Mr. Priest. It gratified the expectations of Court and City, and got the author great reputation.

The Fairy Queen, made into an opera from a comedy of Mr. Shakespeare. This in ornaments was superior to the other two, especially in clothes, for all the singers, dancers, scenes, machines, and decorations, all most profusely set off and excellently performed. . . . The Court and town were wonderfully satisfied with it; but the expenses in setting it out being so great, the company got very little by it.

Note.—Between these operas there were several other plays acted, both modern and old, as *Puny Fair*, *Wit without Money*, *The Taming of a Shrew*, *The Maiden Queen*, *The Mistress* by Sir Charles Sydney, *Island Princess*, *A Sea Voyage*.

PERCY FITZGERALD.

Ecclesiastical Infallibility.

DR. LITLEDALE begins his section on Ecclesiastical Infallibility by this astounding assertion—the italics are Dr. Little-dale's—"There is in Scripture no promise of Infallibility to the Church at any given time. What is promised is that the Holy Ghost will guide us into all truth (St. John xvi. 13); and that the gates of Hell shall not prevail against the Church (St. Matt. xvi. 18)." And then by way of proving his statement Dr. Littledale continues: "But the Apostle has said: 'There must also be heresies among you that they which are approved may be made manifest among you' (1 Cor. xi. 19); and Christ Himself has implied a very general falling away in His words: 'When the Son of Man cometh, shall He find the faith (την πιστιν) upon the earth?' (St. Luke xviii. 8)."¹ Catholics hold that the infallibility of the Church is proved, not merely by Scripture, but also by tradition; but as Dr. Littledale appeals to the Inspired Writings, let us briefly examine if there be foundation for his statement that in Scripture there is no promise of infallibility to the Church. In St. Matthew² we read that our Lord thus addressed on the day of the Ascension the Apostles standing round Peter on Mount Olivet: "All power is given to Me in Heaven and on earth. Going, therefore, teach ye all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world." And again in St. Mark, after the mission to teach every creature had been intrusted to the Apostles, the emphatic words are added: "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be condemned."³ Any man not blinded by passion or prejudice must admit that in the text quoted from St. Matthew there is given, on a

¹ *Plain Reasons*, p. 148.

² St. Matt. xxviii. 18—20.

³ St. Mark xvi. 16.

remarkable occasion and in very solemn language, a commission to the Apostles with Peter, first to teach the whole world; and secondly, the ever-present assistance of Christ is promised in their office of teaching. The protection of Christ, as they thought, was not limited merely to Peter and the Apostles, for Christ was to be with them all days even to the consummation of the world. Christ was to be with the Apostles, as the text says, while they taught, and His protection was to last for ever, that is, long after the eleven whom our Lord was addressing had passed away. Our Lord, consequently, in speaking to the Apostles, at the same time spoke to those who throughout all time were to fill the place they occupied, and on the Apostles and their successors Christ imposed the commission to teach, and to both He promised His all-powerful aid in the execution of their task. Now obviously in the text there is mention of a very special assistance (not simply a general one) to be extended to the Apostles and their successors, not under every circumstance, but while they taught all that Christ commanded them. This special assistance preserves the teaching of the Gospel from all error. In other words, Christ endows the Apostles and their successors with the privilege of infallibility while they teach those things which Christ enjoined. Whatever ambiguity there may be (and we confess to seeing none) in the meaning of the phrase, "behold I am with you all days," is removed when we place it side by side with the terrible consequences which fall upon those who refuse to admit the message: "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be condemned." For the right to teach all men, and to demand from all belief in teaching under pain of eternal damnation, implies that the teachers are infallible. We can hardly suppose that our merciful Lord would oblige the souls He loved so dearly to believe, under pain of eternal damnation, a doctrine which might be false. Hence theologians invariably appeal to these two texts from St. Matthew and St. Mark to prove from Scripture the infallibility of the Church. And yet Dr. Littledale has the effrontery to say that there is in Scripture no promise of infallibility to the Church at any given time. Before making such a statement he should rub these passages out of the Bible, or at least explain them in accordance with his preconceived opinions. But Dr. Littledale thinks it more prudent simply to ignore them. However, Dr. Littledale does

quote two texts. The first, from St. John,⁴ has nothing to do with the point at issue, and the second, though of course Dr. Littledale does not see it, tells directly against himself. In the passage from St. John our Lord tells the Apostles that the Holy Ghost is to teach them all truth, but there is no mention of the doctrine they in turn have to teach to others, and the prerogative of Infallibility was given to the Church in her office of Universal Teacher. No theologian points to these words as proving by themselves the infallibility of the Church. The case is quite different when we come to the expression, the gates of Hell shall not prevail against the Church.

Before we proceed further it may be well to explain what Catholics mean when they speak of the infallibility of the Church. By the infallibility of the Church is meant that freedom from error, through the assistance of the Holy Ghost, has been promised to the Church when she teaches all the faithful on matters relating to faith or morals. Infallibility excludes not only error, but even possibility of error. Infallibility is exercised either by the solemn definitions of the Pope, or whenever the entire Episcopate united with the Roman Pontiff teaches the whole Church in those things to which the inerrancy of the Church extends. We shall have to treat this matter presently at some length, but a word of explanation now may not be out of place in referring to the words quoted by Dr. Littledale,⁵ the gates of Hell shall not prevail against the Church. In this phrase Dr. Littledale sees no promise of infallibility. Yet in this celebrated passage our Lord singles out Peter from his brethren in the apostolate: "I say to thee, thou art Peter, and upon this rock I shall build My Church."⁶ By the Church is meant, as even Dr. Littledale would admit, the assemblage of those who profess the true faith. Now Peter is the rock or foundation on which the spiritual edifice of the Church is to be raised, and the Church, according to St. Ambrose,⁷ is a congregation which grows up into one body joined together by the unity of faith and charity. And if Peter be the foundation of the Church, he must also be the foundation of its faith, for upon him is built the Church, inasmuch as it constitutes a society of men embracing the true faith. As the strength of the house depends upon the foundation, so the firmness of the Church's faith depends upon the faith of Peter. If the

⁴ St. John xvi. 13.

⁵ P. 148.

⁶ St. Matt. xvi. 18.

⁷ *Offic.* l. iii. c. 3.

building is to last for ever, the foundation must also last for ever.

By the words the gates of Hell shall not prevail against the Church, are meant heresies and schisms which, though constantly springing up, shall never be able to shatter the Church that is built upon Peter. Figuratively the gates of a city represent power or those who exercise power in the State. This mode of expression is borrowed from the custom in vogue amongst Eastern nations in passing judgment in civil or criminal matters at the gates of a city.⁸ The powers of Hell shall always contend against the Church, and yet shall ever be thwarted. What is this but to say that the Church built upon Peter shall ever be indefectible in faith? The power of Hell is seen in heresy, which never shall prevail against the faith of the Church, because the faith of the Church draws its strength from Peter. But if the gates of Hell shall never prevail against the Church, neither shall they ever prevail against the faith of Peter, for if the foundation be weak the edifice will totter. The firmness of the faith of the Church against heresy depends upon the firmness of Peter's faith, but against neither shall the gates of Hell ever prevail, therefore both Peter and the Church built upon him can never err even for a second in faith; that is, in other words, the Church is infallible. And yet with this text staring him in the face, Dr. Littledale has the hardihood to maintain that there is in Scripture no promise of infallibility to the Church at any time.

Dr. Littledale appears to think he has gained a signal triumph because he can refer to St. Paul⁹ where he speaks of heresies arising, or to our Lord mourning over the general falling away which shall precede His coming at the Last Day. Just as if anybody ever denied that heresies would arise, or that the path was narrow that led to life and few there are who find it. Dr. Littledale admits that the Church is *indefectible* in the long run, though the teaching voice may be fallible at any given time. Catholics, on the other hand, hold that while nations may drift from their allegiance, the Church in union with the Successor of St. Peter can never fail in faith. The promise of our Divine Master assures us that against the Church built upon Peter the gates of Hell are never to prevail. Where Peter is there the Church is guided by his voice, and the faithful can never in any generation go wrong. Such is Catholic belief.

⁸ See Deut. xxi. 19; xxii. 15; xxv. 7; Ruth iv. 1.

⁹ 1 Cor. xi. 19.

But Dr. Littledale sees much yet to advance in his own favour. "The Roman argument, that if God have given a revelation at all to men, He must also have provided an authority on earth which shall infallibly interpret its meaning so as to avoid all error, is one of those examples of man's attempting to dictate what God *ought to do*; not an account of what God *has done*."¹⁰ Theologians in the Church are not quite so shallow or so stupid as Dr. Littledale supposes. They teach that the Church of Christ is a society of men who profess the true faith, and that there can be no Church without the profession of true faith. But the necessity of faith implies consequently the exclusion of all error in faith, and that Church can alone exclude all error in faith which is endowed with the prerogative of infallibility. Theologians draw the inevitable conclusion that infallibility of some sort is essential to the Church by the very nature of its being. The mode in which infallibility is exercised, the organ of infallibility, depends upon the free will of God. And as a matter of fact Catholics believe, because of the commission given to the Apostles with Peter to teach the whole world, that Christ in His infinite mercy allows us the priceless boon of listening to an infallible voice whenever the successors of the Apostles in union with the Holy See teach the faithful on matters relating to faith or morals. Their utterance is a Divinely-appointed channel of infallibility. Our Lord might have chosen various means to enable the souls for whom He died to know with certainty what is and what is not matter of faith; He has, for wise ends, elected to speak by the mouths of the successors of Peter and the Apostles, and when we hear them we hear Him, and by slighting them we slight Him. But we must not leave ourselves open to misconception. In speaking of the organ of infallibility we have referred to the Church as consisting of the Pope and Bishops in communion with him. Of course we do not mean to deny that the Pope alone possesses all the infallibility of the Church in defining matters of faith and morals, as defined by the Vatican Council, but in following the arguments of Dr. Littledale, we have endeavoured to show that Scripture attributes an infallibility to the Church which he denies. We shall treat later what is comprised in the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, when we refer to Dr. Littledale's statements on that head.

According to Dr. Littledale, no one pretends that the Jews

¹⁰ P. 149.

ever had an infallible living voice to keep them from all error regarding the Law of Moses ; whence he draws the conclusion that Christians need not look for an infallible guide. Even if there were no infallible tribunal among the Jews, it would not follow that there is none now. The Jewish Law was but the "shadow" of the perfect teaching of Christ. The Old Law, in its incompleteness and imperfection, ushered in the New. But to say broadly with Dr. Littledale, that no one pretends to find an infallible living voice among the Jews, is simple exaggeration. Theologians are divided in opinion ; some affirm that the High Priest was an infallible judge, others deny. Becanus, a safe authority,¹¹ who has treated this point more fully than any author with whom we are acquainted, holds that the High Priest was an infallible judge in matters of faith. He founds his argument on Deuteronomy xvii. 9, 12. This proof to Palmieri, a modern theologian of distinction,¹² does not seem convincing. But while Palmieri cannot admit that the High Priest in the Old Law had a claim to infallibility, he is careful to point out that God could have provided by various means for the safe custody of the faith amongst His chosen people, and he instances the prophets, the special messages given to chosen souls, as well as the over-ruling Providence which should always guarantee the profession of the true faith amongst certain members of the Jewish race. But whether the Synagogue or the High Priest were endowed or not with the privilege of infallibly judging right from wrong in matters of faith, this much is certain, that Scripture alone, interpreted according to the fancy of each, was not the ultimate court of appeal. Amongst the points likely to be controverted, the chief related to the Person of the Messiah. The question, was the Messiah yet born, was laid for solution before the Council of Priests, at which the Pontiff presided. In St. Matthew ii. we read, "that there came wise men from the East to worship Him that was born King of the Jews. When Herod the King had heard these things, he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him. And when he had gathered all the Chief Priests and Scribes of the people together, he demanded of them where Christ should be born. And they said unto him, In Bethlehem of Judea : for thus it is written by the Prophet." Three things are here to be noticed ; first, that Herod and the Hebrew people doubted of the place where the Messiah was to be born ; secondly, that

¹¹ *De Judice Controversiarum*, l. i. c. v.

¹² *De Rom. Pontif.* p. 180.

they did not dare to settle the matter themselves, but laid it before the ordinary Council of the Priests; thirdly, that the priests answered the difficulty from Scripture, the rule to which they desired to conform their judgment. Dr. Littledale does not better his position by citing the Jews under the Old Law; even if no infallible judge existed then, nevertheless the private judgment theory of Protestants was not in fashion, and as the Pope singly, or the Pope and Council together, base all their decisions on their conformity to Scripture and tradition, so the priests in the example quoted above framed their reply according to the teaching of Holy Writ. And if the High Priest was not infallible, his decision was nevertheless supreme, and violation of his orders was followed by punishment of death.¹³

Having endeavoured to destroy all infallibility in the Church, Dr. Littledale proceeds to show that the Roman Church is not the whole Church. And here it is not easy for us to guess his meaning. Dr. Littledale says that the Roman Church is not the whole Church *in fact*, because Romans themselves allow that Baptism is the one only way of entrance into the Church, and that every duly baptized person is a member of the Church; but Roman Catholics are less than half the whole number of baptized Christians.¹⁴ And then he goes on to state, "that the Roman Church is not the whole Church by right, because, though it is the largest and most powerful Church in the world, it is not the oldest. It lays claim, in the Creed of Pope Pius the Fourth, to be Mother and Mistress of all Churches."¹⁵ Dr. Littledale adds triumphantly, that if Rome is not the oldest Church (as she certainly is not), the claim to be Mother of all Churches is not true. In styling herself Mother and Mistress of all Churches, the Roman never pretends precedence on the score of antiquity. The title Mother has been explained by one of the Popes: "The Roman Church," says Innocent the Third,¹⁶ "is called Mother not on the score of time, but rather on the score of dignity,"¹⁷ while Mistress has reference to the superiority Rome claims, and has ever claimed, over all the other Churches. Nobody ever maintained that the Roman Church in point of time claimed priority over the rest, and all that Dr. Littledale says on this head arises from ignorance, real or affected. Rome is the seat of Christ's Vicar, and whoever

¹³ Deut. xvii. 12.¹⁴ P. 150.¹⁵ P. 151.¹⁶ Epist. 209, l. iii.¹⁷ Palmieri, *De Rom. Pont.* f. 368.

succeeds to the Chair of Peter obtains primacy over the whole Church. Union with the Roman Church is the necessary law of life and principle of growth. St. Irenæus, the disciple of St. Polycarp, who was himself the disciple of St. John, has written in words quoted recently by the Vatican Council:¹⁸ "It was necessary that every Church—that is, the faithful from every quarter—should be joined to the Roman Church, because of its higher ruling power, so that in this See, whence the rights of sacred communion flow to all, they may, as members united under a head, form one body."¹⁹ Following St. Irenæus, the superiority of the Roman Church was admitted by the Fathers at Nice in 325—*Trecentorum decem et octo sanctorum patrum canon sextus—quod Ecclesia Romana semper habuit primatum*.²⁰ At Chalcedon, in 451, we find that Rome is styled Head of all the Churches.²¹ The Third Council of Constantinople thus speak in 680: "To you, as the first See of the Universal Church, resting upon a firm rock, we leave what is to be done." The phrase Mother and Mistress, to which Dr. Little-dale objects, is used in the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), of the Roman Church, to express her priority of rank over the other Churches of the world. "The Roman Church, by the arrangement of God, obtains the first rank over all the other Churches in the exercise of ordinary power, as the Mother and Mistress of all Christ's faithful." The same is taught by the Second Council of Lyons in 1274; by the Council of Florence in 1438; by Trent;²² and by the Council of the Vatican. The doctrine of St. Irenæus in the second century, and of the Vatican Council in the nineteenth, is one and the same. Rome claims to be the chief; she does not, as Dr. Little-dale states,²³ allege herself to be the *whole* Church. All the Churches throughout the world are subject to her. She is their guide in faith and in discipline. When other Churches, such as Constantinople, refuse obedience to Rome, they are by the very fact in schism, and are separated from the One true Church. When Rome speaks, she does so because of the infallibility that resides in her Vicar. His authority remains the same whether he live in the Vatican, or on a barren rock in the Atlantic. To his voice all Catholics listen, and his ruling all Churches obey.

¹⁸ Constit. de Ecclesia, cap. 2.

¹⁹ *In unam corporis compagem coalescunt* (St. Iren. *adv. hæres.* l. iii. c. iii.).

²⁰ Bouix, *De Papa*, p. 81.

²¹ Labbe, *Concil.* t. iv. col. 94. Edit. Parisiis, 1671.

²² Bouix, *De Papa*, vol. i. pp. 92—94.

²³ P. 152.

Dr. Littledale next proceeds to discuss St. Peter's privilege. The privilege of St. Peter is grounded upon three texts chiefly; first upon St. Matt. xvi. 18, where Peter is called by our Lord the rock on which the Church is to be built; secondly, on St. Luke xxii. 32, where our Lord prays for Peter and bids him confirm his brethren in the faith; and thirdly on St. John xxi. 15—17, where our Lord, after His Resurrection, entrusts to Peter the task of feeding His lambs and sheep. Dr. Littledale assures us in p. 153 that these three texts are not interpreted in the Ultramontane fashion by the majority of the Fathers. In pp. 26, 27, to which he refers, instances are given where rock is understood to be the faith of Peter, the rock of his confession, and where the rock is interpreted of Christ Himself. Before we proceed farther, it may be satisfactory, if not to Dr. Littledale, at least to some of his readers, to show that these interpretations do not exclude but rather include the literal one which makes Peter to be the rock.

When the Fathers teach that the Church was built upon this confession of Peter, upon the rock of this confession and the like, this faith is always considered as existing in Peter—it is upon Peter *believing* that his Lord and Master is Christ Son of the Living God that the Church is built. This faith is considered by the Fathers as persevering in the rock and in the Church built upon the rock. "The firmness of that faith," says St. Leo, "which was praised in the Prince of the Apostles is perpetual, and as that remains which Peter confessed in Christ (namely, His Divinity), so that also remains which Christ instituted in Peter." Again, the faith of Peter was one of the reasons why our Lord endowed him with the singular privilege of being the foundation of His Church, for our Lord was touched with the magnificent profession—Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God—and rewarded it by the bestowal of the highest dignity. The confession of Peter was the outward sign of the faith that was within, and it was upon Peter as he stood before his Master fearlessly avowing his belief that our Lord promised to build His Church. When the Fathers describe the confession of Peter as the rock on which the Church is built, these words in their mouth include and do not exclude the person of Peter.

Dr. Littledale argues in p. 153 that, according to 1 Cor. x. 4, Christ is the rock, and therefore he concludes that Peter has no claim to the title in the sense which Catholics attribute to that word. Here again Dr. Littledale's conclusion is wider than

his premisses. Christ and Peter are both the foundation-stone on which the Church is built, but in a different sense. All Catholics believe that Christ is the chief foundation-stone (*prima petra, fundamentum princeps*) by His own inalienable right, and that Peter enjoys this privilege by the free gift of his Master. Peter was nevertheless the foundation of the Church, although not in the same way as our Lord. In the eighth chapter of St. John, Christ says that He is the light of the world, but this did not prevent Him from telling His Apostles, in St. Matt. v. 14, that they also were the light of the world. Christ made the Apostles the light of the world as He made Peter the foundation of the Church. St. Leo²⁴ thus introduces our Saviour, speaking of Himself: "Since I am the rock that no man can touch (*inviolabilis*), I the corner-stone, Who make both one, I the foundation other than which no man can lay, nevertheless, thou art the rock because thou art made firm by My strength, that what belongs to Me by right of My power should be common to thee by participation. Peter cannot be considered as the rock, except in so far as he rests upon Christ as the chief foundation stone. When the Vatican Council teaches that St. Peter is the rock on which the edifice of the Church reposes, it never means to deny that the same can be said of Christ in a higher and far more perfect sense. Dr. Littledale would be wiser if he consulted some recognized Catholic writers before making random assertions, that the title Rock (of course exclusively) is confined to Christ in the New Testament. The Angel of the Schools, in his Commentary on St. Matthew,²⁵ says distinctly that Christ and Peter are both foundations of the Church: Christ of Himself (*secundum se*), Peter as the Vicar of Christ. We have now explained sufficiently that Dr. Littledale's assertion that Peter cannot be the Rock because our Lord is, has no authority, intrinsic or extrinsic, to support it.

Dr. Littledale next proceeds to show that no supreme power of ruling and teaching is given to St. Peter in the New Testament for the following reasons: ²⁶ (a) All the Apostles were given the power of loosing and binding as well as St. Peter (St. Matt. xviii. 18; St. John xx. 21—23); (b) St. Peter is the only Apostle sternly rebuked by Christ for attempting to contradict God's will (St. Matt. xvi. 23), and that just after the blessing that had been pronounced upon him; (c) Peter is the only Apostle, except Judas, who fell away from our Lord; (d) though he

²⁴ Serm. *Sue Assumpt.*

²⁵ xvi. 18.

²⁶ P. 153.

appears in the most prominent position amongst the Apostles after the Ascension, not one act of jurisdiction on his part over any Apostle is to be found; only one over two lay members of a congregation, Ananias and Saphira (Acts v. 1—10); any presidency in the Church of Jerusalem seems attributed to St. James (Acts xii. 17; xv. 13—21; Gal. ii. 9—12); (*e*) St. Peter is sent with St. John on a mission to Samaria (Acts viii. 14); (*f*) St. Peter is recorded as having erred on a point of Church doctrine and order (Gal. ii. 11); (*g*) St. Peter is, after a time, Divinely restricted to the Apostleship of the Circumcision, that is, the Church of the Jews by birth (Gal. ii. 7, 8). It will not be necessary to weary our readers by further citation of Dr. Littledale's proofs against the Primacy; suffice it to say that he urges in p. 155 that Peter cannot enjoy the plenitude of teaching power, because his writings are less numerous than those of St. Paul, St. Luke, or St. Mark; and finally Dr. Littledale informs us that no man whatever was appointed by Christ as His Vicar on earth at His departure, but the Holy Spirit (St. John xiv. 16, 17, 26; xv. 26: xvi. 7, 13—15).

We shall endeavour to answer briefly these objections. There is nothing fresh in them, nor have they even the advantage of being dressed in new livery. (*a*) All the Apostles were given the power of binding and loosing as well as Peter (St. Matt. xviii. 18), therefore, says Dr. Littledale, Peter has not supreme power over them. To this we reply—Three things are said to Peter: (1) Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I shall build My Church; (2) I shall give to thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; (3) whatever thou shalt bind upon earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatever thou shalt loose upon earth shall be loosed in Heaven.²⁷ But to the Apostles was given only the power of binding and loosing: whatever ye shall bind upon earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatever ye shall loose upon earth shall be loosed in Heaven.²⁸ Consequently, from these texts it follows that Peter alone is the foundation of the Church, a dignity not shared by others, and that to Peter alone is given the custody of the keys. These two privileges are not enjoyed by the other Apostles; and this fact alone shows that the dignity of Peter and of the other Apostles is not the same. By the metaphor of the tradition of the keys of the kingdom, something more is undoubtedly meant than the simple power of binding and loosing. By this expression

²⁷ St. Matt. xvi. 16.²⁸ St. Matt. xviii. 18.

is signified the power of binding and loosing by one who has the keys under his charge, so that all others acquire the power of binding and loosing dependent upon him who keeps the keys of the kingdom. The power of binding and loosing in the case of one who has custody of the keys is quite independent of any other member of the kingdom; but the mere power of binding and loosing depends upon him to whom the keys are entrusted. Hence it follows that equal dignity is not bestowed upon the Apostles by the commission to bind and loose in St. Matt. xviii. 18 as is conferred upon Peter in the famous promise that he was to be the rock on which the visible Church was to be built. This is our first answer to Dr. Littledale. Should he reply that the power of binding and loosing bestowed upon the Apostles carries with it the power of the keys, and that consequently, in this respect, Peter and the Apostles were one and the same, we answer that the *supreme* power of the keys belonged to Peter, while to the Apostles were entrusted the keys with dependence upon Peter. Again, if we compare the text to which Dr. Littledale refers in St. Matt. xviii. 18 with St. Matt. xvi. 18, it is clear that Christ, in the former passage, is addressing all the Apostles, amongst whom is Peter, in the latter that he is speaking to Peter alone. The power granted to the Apostles is conferred upon them inasmuch as they form the Apostolic College, their jurisdiction is over the rest of the faithful, not over one another, still less is Peter in any way subjected to them to whom, on a previous occasion, were given the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. To sum up, then, in reply Dr. Littledale's objection, that to all the Apostles were given the power of binding and loosing as well as to St. Peter, we say that the subjects of the Apostles in the power of binding and loosing are the rest of the faithful not belonging to the Apostolic College; while the whole Church, including the Apostles, is subject to the jurisdiction of Peter.

The supreme power which had been promised to St. Peter before our Saviour's death was actually conferred upon him after Christ's Resurrection. Beside the Lake of Tiberias, famed in Sacred Story, our Lord asked St. Peter if he loved his Master, and on hearing the avowal of sincerest affection once again Christ singled him out from the other Apostles, and bade him feed His lambs and sheep.²⁹ Peter was not told merely to feed some lambs and sheep, but the whole flock, the entire Church,

²⁹ St. John xxi. 15—17.

was entrusted to his care. Clergy and laity, priests and bishops, even the Apostles themselves, were to be fed by Peter. There was no limit of time or place; as long as the flock existed, it was to be under the guidance of Peter, the Supreme Shepherd. But Christ could not entrust such a charge to the Roman Pontiff without at the same time imposing upon every member of the entire flock obedience to the Shepherd's voice. The right of feeding and guarding without an obligation to obey on the part of the flock is to put an absurd meaning upon our Saviour's words. Therefore, every portion of the flock was to follow the guidance of Peter—the Shepherd was to know his sheep, and the sheep were to recognize the voice of the Shepherd. To no other Apostle were such words ever addressed. But the privilege of infallibility is also comprised in the supreme jurisdiction attached to the office of Chief Shepherd. For what is the duty of a shepherd? To protect the flock from wolves, to lead to wholesome and to guard the sheep from poisonous pastures. Dropping metaphor, Christ would not have imposed a task upon St. Peter without at the same time providing him with all that is necessary for its accomplishment. The sheep and the lambs are the members of Christ's Church; faith is the sound, heresy the unsound pasturage. But Peter could not on every occasion distinguish between what is pure and what is noxious unless by Divine assistance, and so Catholic writers have ever maintained that the assistance guaranteed to Peter for the safe custody of the flock is nothing else than the gift of infallibility. That authority is supreme which is exerted over all, and is itself subject to none. This, together with the gift of infallibility to be transmitted to his successors, we claim to have shown belonged to Peter, and therefore we submit we have produced conclusive testimony from Scripture against Dr. Littledale that Peter's power was supreme.

(b) Dr. Littledale informs us that Peter is the only Apostle who was sternly rebuked by Christ for attempting to contradict the Divine will; Peter fell away from Christ, and therefore, argues Dr. Littledale, Peter had not supreme authority over the whole Church. We fail to see how any man with a grasp of the subject at all can draw such an absurd conclusion. St. Peter may have been full of imperfections and actually did deny his Master, but these faults did not prevent our Lord from conferring upon him the highest human dignity. As Dr. Littledale refers to St. Peter's fall, he might have mentioned

his contrition. St. Peter does not seem to have been at all so dear to our Saviour as St. John, yet not to the beloved disciple, but to the man who denied Him, Christ said upon this rock I shall build My Church. The all-sufficient reason for this choice is the free will of our Lord. This objection of Dr. Littledale is simply unworthy of any consideration.

(d) Dr. Littledale says that St. Peter does not seem to have exercised any jurisdiction over the Apostles, while the presidency in the Church of Jerusalem seems attributed to St. James.³⁰ We confess our reading of Scripture is very different from Dr. Littledale's. Everywhere we find Peter taking the lead of the Apostles and acting as their head. Peter proposes the election of an apostle in place of Judas,³¹ and addresses the multitudes on the Day of Pentecost.³² Peter, not John who was with him, cured the lame man at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple.³³ At Peter's rebuke Ananias and Saphira fell dead, as Dr. Littledale admits,³⁴ and Simon Magus trembled. In the tenth chapter of the Acts it is related how Peter received Cornelius the first Gentile convert, and laid down the principle that the separation between Jew and Gentile had come to an end in Christ. We are specially told in the Acts³⁵ that when Peter was cast into prison by Herod, prayer was made without ceasing by the Church of God for him. St. Paul, three years after his conversion, went to Jerusalem to see Peter and tarried with him fifteen days,³⁶ as if to recognize by this step Peter's supremacy. It is quite true that the action of the other Apostles was not checked, much less overruled, by Peter. When differences arose with regard to the Jewish rite of circumcision upon the Gentile converts, Peter did not choose to settle the question by an act of supreme authority, but the Apostles and ancients assembled to consider this matter.³⁷ Yet even here Dr. Littledale hopes to find something against the Supremacy of St. Peter. The facts are these, and show that Peter was regarded by the Apostles as their head. After much discussion, Peter rose and gave his decision. "Men and brethren, you know that in former days God made choice among us that *by my mouth* the Gentiles should hear the Word of God and believe. Now, therefore, why tempt ye God to put

³⁰ Acts xii. 17; xv. 13-21; Gal. ii. 9-12.

³¹ Acts i. 16.

³² Acts ii. 14.

³³ Acts iii. 6.

³⁴ P. 154.

³⁵ Acts xii. 5.

³⁶ Gal. i. 18.

³⁷ Acts xv. 6.

a yoke upon the neck of the disciples which neither our fathers nor we have been able to bear?" When Peter finished speaking the multitude held their peace, and the decision of the Apostles and ancients agreed with what Peter indicated. Thus we see Peter deciding a point of doctrine, not by himself, as when he received Cornelius into the Church, but in union with his brethren having with him one common infallibility. Dr. Littledale fails to see in all this any token of authority. We might, did space allow us, refer to various passages in the Acts of the Apostles where Peter is clearly recognized as spokesman and leader by the other Apostles, notably to ii. 14, where Peter standing with the eleven is the first to evangelize the Jews, and alone speaks while the rest listen and defends the honour of the Apostolic College, and to iv. 8, where, when Peter and John were questioned, Peter alone replies, and defends the ministry of the Apostles.³⁸ But we have said enough to show that even in the Acts of the Apostles Peter's position is prominent over his brethren in the Apostolate.

(e) St. Peter is sent with St. John on a mission to Samaria³⁹ by what Dr. Littledale calls the superior authority of the College of the Apostles, therefore St. Peter, if not actually subject to the Apostles, was at least not their supreme head. Protestants often make this mission of St. Peter a stock objection. Why does it follow that the mission on which St. Peter was sent was any exercise of authority, properly so called, on the part of the Apostles? Take a somewhat parallel case. The Bishops in Synod assembled choose the Archbishops of York and Canterbury to proceed on some special object to the Queen at Windsor. Surely no one would pretend that this mission implied any derogation from the superior authority of the Archbishop of York or Canterbury, or any assumption of authority on the part of the Synod. Had Peter declined, the Apostles could not have urged their wish, for he as we have seen was their head to whom they were subject. But by common agreement the head of the whole Church was chosen as the most fitting

³⁸ See also Acts x. i; and notice how in drawing up the list of the Apostles the first place is given to Peter: St. Matt. x. 2—5; St. Mark iii. 16—20; St. Luke vi. 14—16; Acts i. 13. When the Evangelists speak of Peter and the Apostles, special mention is made of Peter when the names of the others do not occur: "Say to the disciples and Peter" (St. Mark xvi. 7); "Peter standing with the eleven" (Acts ii. 14); "They said to Peter and to the remaining disciples" (Acts ii. 37); "Peter answering and the Apostles said" (Acts v. 29).

³⁹ Acts viii. 14.

person to found a Church at Samaria. As on other occasions related in the Acts (iii. 4, iv. 13, 19), so in this, St. Peter and St. John were companions. Thus in no sense were the Apostles collectively superior to Peter.

(f) St. Peter, says Dr. Littledale,⁴⁰ is the only Apostle recorded as having erred on a point of Church doctrine and order, because⁴¹ it is related that St. Paul withstood Peter to the face, since Peter was to be blamed. This objection has been repeated *usque ad nauseam*, and it is wearying to traverse the same ground again. It has been answered constantly, there is not a manual of theology in which the difficulty is not treated, and it is really too bad for Dr. Littledale quietly to ignore all these replies, and to give an objection old as the hills to the world just as if it never had been met before. Briefly, then, we answer first that St. Peter's conduct proves once again his superior authority. For although St. Paul by his words constantly taught that Jewish customs were neither necessary nor in the main advisable, St. Peter's mere example, although he said nothing, was so powerful as to "compel" even Barnabas to adopt Jewish customs. How can we account for the bare example of Peter having more effect than the loud preaching of St. Paul except by supposing that by all Peter was considered as superior to Paul, and that the authority of the former was recognized as supreme in the Church? Secondly, while granting that St. Peter was guilty of some slight fault, which we are not concerned to deny, and therefore that he deserved the reprimand which he received from St. Paul, we deny that this error was doctrinal, or implied any diversity of belief in St. Peter and St. Paul. In *practice* there had been divergence on Peter's part in perfect good faith; in belief St. Peter and St. Paul were one and the same. For both Apostles taught that the observance of the Law was not necessary for salvation. It had been already defined by St. Peter in the Council of Jerusalem,⁴² at which St. Paul assisted,⁴³ that the Mosaic Law bound no longer. Both Apostles taught that the observance of the Law of Moses was, even after the Council of Jerusalem, allowable at least under certain circumstances. Thus St. Paul circumcised Timothy (even after the Council of Jerusalem), because of the Jews that were in those parts,⁴⁴ and even submitted to the Jewish purification as he entered the Temple.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ P. 154.⁴¹ Gal. ii. 11.⁴² Acts xv. 7.⁴³ Acts xv. 2-4, 12, 22, 26.⁴⁴ Acts xvi. 3.⁴⁵ Acts xxi. 26.

St. Peter did not any more than St. Paul believe in Jewish rites, or in the obligation of the Mosaic Law. St. Peter proved his belief in the abrogation of that Law by eating with the Gentiles, and eating of such things as the Law while it was in force had forbidden. But afterwards when certain Jewish converts came from the district surrounding Jerusalem, of which St. James was Bishop, and expressed themselves scandalized at this violation of the Law by Peter eating with the Gentiles, he in his anxiety to help his Jewish converts, condescending to their weakness, separated himself from the Gentiles and ate no more with them. St. Peter failed to see that he removed a stumbling block from the way of the Jews only by placing another stumbling block in the way of the Gentiles. His conduct might lead people to suppose that his doctrine was that of the false teachers, who wished all Christians, whether Jews or Gentiles, to be circumcised and to keep the law of Moses as necessary to salvation. St. Paul calls St. Peter's practice a "dissimulation," and "a walking not uprightly unto the truth of the Gospel."⁴⁶ St. Peter committed a fault in practice which proved nothing either against his infallibility (which confers no privilege of sinlessness in him who possesses it) or against his Primacy. St. Paul had been accused of not being an Apostle, and of holding a doctrine different from the other Apostles. By mentioning the rebuke of Peter at Antioch, St. Paul wanted to show that he was not only an Apostle, but that in his doctrine he was one with Peter; and that if there had been difference *in practice*, it was on Peter's part not on his. Between St. Peter and St. Paul there was no conflict either in jurisdiction or in doctrine.⁴⁷

(g) Dr. Littledale says that St. Peter after a time is Divinely restricted to the Apostleship of the Circumcision—that is, the Church of the Jews by birth,⁴⁸ and is withdrawn from any authority over the Gentiles, to whom we and the Roman Church alike belong. Here again Dr. Littledale completely ignores all the replies that have been given to this threadbare difficulty. Is this, we ask, a fair and honest mode of proceeding? Dr. Littledale publishes a list of plain reasons against joining the

⁴⁶ Gal. ii. 14.

⁴⁷ See *Other Gospels*, by Father Humphrey (Burns and Oates); Palmieri, *De Rom. Pont.* p. 305, &c.

⁴⁸ Gal. ii. 7, 8.

Church of Rome, quotes objections that have been answered over and over again, and nevertheless puts them forward as the latest discoveries, without deigning to inform his readers where they can at least find what Catholics have to say on the other side. St. Paul, in saying that to him was specially deputed the task of preaching the Gospel to the Gentiles, in no wise pretends equality with Peter in jurisdiction. By these words St. Paul simply asserts that he had been specially sent by our Lord to the Gentiles as Peter to the Jews. While the primacy of Peter remained intact, St. Peter and St. Paul each received from Christ the special mission of preaching to a particular set. But Paul's converts were just as much subject to Peter as the rest of the faithful. All the Apostles may be called equal in the dignity of the Apostolate, but all were depending upon Peter as their head. To say with Dr. Littledale that St. Peter is withdrawn from any authority over the Gentiles, is a gratuitous assertion for which Dr. Littledale does not pretend to offer the shadow of proof.

Fortunately we have now arrived at the conclusion of those objections against the primacy of St. Peter which deserve notice. When Dr. Littledale says, in p. 154, that St. Paul claims authority over *all* the Churches of the Gentiles, he seems to forget, if he ever knew, that each of the Apostles had *universal* jurisdiction, subject nevertheless to Peter. St. Peter's jurisdiction extended over the whole Church, as well as over the persons of the Apostles, while no one had jurisdiction over him.

When Dr. Littledale assures us that St. Peter could not enjoy the plenitude of teaching power because his writings were less numerous than those of St. Paul, St. Luke, or St. Mark, he seems to imply that supreme power of teaching depends on the amount of ink and paper consumed. This would be ludicrous, were it not melancholy to reflect that some souls for whom the Precious Blood has been so lovingly and so lavishly spilt, are perhaps kept out of the Church by nonsense such as this. The passages from St. John show that the Holy Ghost was to guide the Church into all truth, but there is not one word to warrant Dr. Littledale's assertion that Christ left no Vicar at his departure from this earth.

Under a new heading, in p. 156, Dr. Littledale inquires what the privilege of Peter really was? And he answers the question by informing the world that the words, "I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven," have a meaning

applicable to St. Peter alone. This meaning, according to Tertullian, is that St. Peter was granted the incommunicable and unrepealable privilege of being the *first* to unlock the doors of the Kingdom of Heaven to both Jews and Gentiles. And as that was done once for all, it cannot be done over again by any one; so that there is nothing left for the Pope to be special heir to, any more than the heirs of Columbus, if any be alive, could enjoy a monopoly of continuing to discover America." Thus far Dr. Littledale, who of course conveniently forgets to remind us that the work of Tertullian, *De pudicitia*, to which he refers, was written *after* the latter had fallen into heresy and left the Church. Leaning on the words of our Lord to Peter in St. Matthew xvi. 17—19; St. John xxi. 15, 16, 17; St. Luke xxii. 32, we place the privilege of Peter in this: first, he was the foundation on whom the whole Church, including the Apostles, rested; secondly, Peter had the custody of the keys; thirdly, that all the sheep and the lambs of the flock, without any exception, from first to last, were to be fed by Peter, "Feed My lambs, feed My sheep;" fourthly, Peter was to confirm his brethren in the faith, so that their faith depended upon union with him, while his faith did not depend upon union with them; fifthly, infallibility and universal jurisdiction, possessed by the other Apostles, were in them *extraordinary* gifts granted for special ends, and not to be transmitted to their successors, while the prerogatives of Peter in jurisdiction and infallibility were *ordinary*, and to be enjoyed by his successors in the primacy.

Dr. Littledale next assures us that "there is no evidence whatever, to prove that St. Peter's privilege, whatever it was, did not die with him, for the great Petrine texts contain no clause whatever which even hints at any transmission of the privilege: unlike the grants to Abraham, Aaron, and David, where the descent of their privileges is expressly provided for."⁴⁹ Dr. Littledale could hardly have used stronger language when he asserts that there is nothing in the three great texts—St. Matthew xvi. 18; St. John xx. 21; St. Luke xxii. 32—which even *hints* at the transmission of the primacy. There might have been some conceivable excuse for a writer who said that our Lord did not in so many words say that the Primacy was to be handed on, but broadly to assert that there is not even a hint in Scripture about such transmission, is a wonderful feat, even for Dr. Littledale. The Vatican Council, in the

⁴⁹ P. 157.

Constitution *De Ecclesia*, cap. i., relies on St. Matthew xvi. 16—19; St. John xxi. 15—17, as a "manifest" declaration of the truth always believed by the Catholic Church, that Peter, as the "rock," or foundation of the Church, was to last in his successors as long as the Church itself. For if the Church which Christ founded is to endure for ever, as even Dr. Littledale would admit, surely the *petra super quam ædificabo Ecclesiam meam* must also endure for ever. And it cannot endure in Peter, who centuries ago passed to his reward, it must still remain in the person, whoever he may be, who represents Peter, and enjoys all Peter's prerogatives. Seeing that our Lord chose to speak in metaphor, He could hardly convey His meaning more clearly than He has in St. Matthew xvi. 16—19, where He calls Peter the rock on which that Church is to be built which is to live for ever. Again, after His Resurrection, our Lord conferred upon St. Peter the jurisdiction previously promised in the words from St. Matthew, when He bade St. Peter feed the lambs and the sheep of the entire flock. Surely the flock was not limited to those who dwelt upon the earth during St. Peter's ministry, but was to include those who throughout all time were to be numbered in that One Fold under One Shepherd of which our Saviour speaks so tenderly. The flock shall ever need wholesome pasture; it is Peter that is to provide the food, Peter always living in his successors. And yet, with these texts staring him in the face, commented upon in every work of Catholic theology, Dr. Littledale has the hardihood to tell us that there is not in them a single clause which even "hints" at the transmission of the Papacy!

But Dr. Littledale speaks of the primacy as a personal privilege. The primacy is personal in one sense, and not in another. By a personal privilege is meant one that is given to a man for his own sake (*ratione sui*), not necessarily because of his office. Thus the privilege granted to a confessor of absolving from certain sins is personal.⁶⁰ It is not transferable or transmissible. In this sense the primacy is not personal. In so far as the supremacy of honour and jurisdiction involved in the term primacy is attached to the person of the Roman Pontiff, in that sense only can the Primacy be called *personal*.

Dr. Littledale's observations in p. 157, about a personal privilege ceasing with the person named, arise from a misconception of the point which he is treating. It is almost

⁶⁰ Konings, *De Legibus*, p. 80.

comical to hear a writer coolly ask the Church of Rome to produce St. Peter's last will and testament. Does Dr. Littledale suppose the primacy is inherited by will from the previous possessor? Theologians, we believe, are agreed in considering that Christ left to His Church the power of determining how a Pontiff was to be elected—the choice rests, according to ecclesiastical legislation, with the Cardinals; they choose the Pontiff, and supreme jurisdiction is at once conferred upon him by Christ. For from no one but our Lord can the Pontiff on election receive supreme jurisdiction—not from the electors or from the Church, because they have no such power to confer. It remains then for our Saviour to grant supreme power of ruling and teaching to the lawfully elected occupant of the Roman See. Dr. Littledale says that to establish the supremacy of Rome two factors are necessary: (a) proof of a charter to the person of its Bishop, (b) and of another charter to the city as the immutable seat of his primacy.⁵¹ On the connection between the primacy and the See of Rome, let the following suffice: The Council of Florence says that “the Holy Apostolic See and the Roman Pontiff enjoys primacy over the whole world, and that the Roman Pontiff is the successor of Blessed Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and the true Vicar of Christ, and the Head of the whole Church and the Father and Teacher of all Christians, and that to him in Blessed Peter has been given by our Lord Jesus Christ the full power of feeding, ruling, and governing the whole Church.” It is then certain according to Catholic belief that the Roman Pontiffs are the successors of Peter: indeed, no one else lays claim to succeed to him. But in what sense is the primacy connected with the City of Rome? If the Pope were in Malta to-morrow, would he still be Bishop of Rome, as the Popes were when they resided at Avignon? Bellarmine's explanation⁵² seems the most satisfactory. By Divine institution the Roman Pontiffs succeed to the Chair of Peter; but the reason why the Roman Pontiff succeeds in preference to one whose see is at Antioch or elsewhere, depends upon St. Peter's choice of Rome. We can never certainly know whether Peter chose Rome to be the seat of the primacy by the wish of Christ secretly communicated to him. Suarez thinks this opinion more probable—but this much is certain, that whoever succeeds to Peter as Bishop of Rome obtains the primacy of the Universal Church.⁵³ We admit with Dr. Little-

⁵¹ P. 158. ⁵² *De Rom. Pont.* l. ii. cap. xii. ⁵³ Vatican, *De Ecclesia*, cap. ii.

dale that Scripture does not tell us who is to be the successor of St. Peter. The fact must have been known to the early Church by tradition, and thus have come down to later ages. Unless Peter had preached this truth himself, how could his successor, Pope Linus, in the Chair of St. Peter have known that he was endowed with the primacy of the Universal Church? We have ground for holding that the same truth was also inculcated by the other Apostles. Otherwise, why should the Corinthians have appealed to Clement, the successor of St. Peter in the primacy, for the settlement of their disputes, in preference to St. John, then living, unless they knew by tradition, which they revered as much as Scripture, that the occupant of the Roman See by that very fact was the supreme arbiter in all disputes and judge in all causes? We entirely deny then that any charter is necessary to establish the supremacy of Rome. The precedence is seen on the page of history from the admission of St. Irenæus in the second century, that the Roman Church is the first and the most eminent, to the teaching of the Vatican in the nineteenth. The fact that Rome more than any other city was chosen as the Pontiff's See is known by tradition, and rested on the human will of Peter.

Dr. Littledale appeals to the famous twenty-eighth canon of the General Council of Chalcedon as affording indisputable proof that the special dignity of the Popes appears throughout as a matter of purely human origin and arrangement, and as no result of Divine charter, as he terms it. Before quoting in full the twenty-eighth canon of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), it may be well to show that the Fathers in that Council acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope *jure divino*. For when, in the Second Session of the Council, St. Leo's dogmatic letter was read, all the assembled Bishops of the Oriental Church unanimously exclaimed: "This is the faith of the Apostles; this is the faith of the Fathers. This do we and all the orthodox believe. Anathema to him who believes it not. Peter has spoken by Leo."⁵⁴ Moreover, in the synodical letters addressed by the Fathers to Pope Leo, speaking of Dioscorus, who had been forbidden by Leo to sit in the Council, we find these words: "He burned in insane rage against him to whom our Divine Saviour intrusted the care of the vineyard, that is, against your Apostolic Holiness, and he attempted to inflict a sentence of

⁵⁴ αὕτη ἡ πίστις τῶν πατέρων, αὕτη ἡ πίστις τῶν Ἀποστόλων, πάντες οὕτω πιστεύομεν, οἱ ὁρθόδοξοι οὕτω πιστεύουσιν, ἀνάθεμα τῷ μὴ οὕτω πιστεύοντι. Πέτρος διὰ Λέοντος ταῦτα ἐξεφώνησεν (Labbe, t. iv. p. 1236).

excommunication upon you, whose endeavour it is to make the body of the Church to be one."⁵⁵ There is no question, as Dr. Littledale asserts, of human arrangement. The Fathers profess that Peter speaks through Leo, and that to Leo had been given by Christ the charge of the whole Church. And thus we obtain a clear proof of the acknowledgment by the Eastern Church of the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff *jure divino*.

And now we come to the twenty-eighth canon, which runs as follows: "We, following in all things the decisions of the Holy Fathers, and acknowledging the canon of the 150 most religious bishops which has just been read, do also determine and decree the same things respecting the privileges of the most holy city of Constantinople, the new Rome. For the Fathers properly gave the primacy to the throne of the elder Rome, because that was the Imperial City. And the 150 most religious bishops being moved with the same intention, gave equal privileges to the most holy throne of new Rome, judging with reason that the city which was honoured with the sovereignty and senate, and which enjoyed equal privileges with the elder royal Rome, should also be magnified like her in ecclesiastical matters, being the second after her. And we also decree that the metropolitans only of the Pontic, Asiatic, and Thracian dioceses, including the bishops of the aforesaid dioceses, who are amongst the barbarians, shall be ordained by the above-mentioned most holy throne of the most holy Church of Constantinople, each metropolitan of the aforesaid dioceses ordaining the bishops of the province, as had been declared by the Divine canons; but the metropolitans themselves of the said dioceses shall, as has been said, be ordained by the Bishop of Constantinople, the proper elections being made according to custom, and reported to him."⁵⁶ This is the famous canon xxviii. of Chalcedon, to which so much importance has been attached. It is evidently built upon the third canon of the First Council of Constantinople, which will help us to determine its true meaning. The words of the latter canon are: "The Bishop of Constantinople shall have the privilege of honour (*τα πρεσβεία τῆς τιμῆς*) after the Bishop of Rome, because Constantinople is the new Rome." About these canons we have a few observations to make, which may tend to clear up the mist in which Dr. Littledale endeavours to shroud the subject. The supreme jurisdiction of Rome is acknowledged by both these canons; they claim merely a

⁵⁵ Labbe, l. iv. p. 1776.

⁵⁶ See Greek text in Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles*, vol. iii. p. 123.

precedence of honour for the Bishop of Constantinople after the See of Rome. There is no question whatever concerning the primacy of jurisdiction. This belongs to the Pope alone. The canons treat of a prerogative of honour and precedence, the highest degree of which belongs to the Pope as Patriarch of the West, and next after whom ranked the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch. The Bishop of Constantinople, far from disputing the Pope's supreme jurisdiction over the whole Church, did not even dispute his pre-eminence of honour: he merely sought to rank after the Pope before the Patriarch of Alexandria. But, urges Dr. Littledale, Rome's supremacy was admitted, not *jure divino*, but only as the result of human arrangement, because it was the Imperial City. We admit that the Bishops in this canon expressed the opinion then prevalent in the Greek Church, that the bishoprics ranked in the order of the civil importance of their sees. And this perhaps was one of the reasons why this canon was directly and explicitly annulled by the Pope, in virtue of his Divine and supreme authority in the Church. In proof of which here are the words of the Pope: "Consensiones episcoporum, Sanctorum Canonum apud Nicæam regulis repugnantes, unita nobiscum vestræ fidei pietate in irritum mittimus, et per auctoritatem Beati Petri Apostoli generali prorsus definitione cassamus."⁵⁷ We say that one of the reasons which induced the Pope to annul the twenty-eighth canon, was the sentiment expressed by the Bishops that the civil rank of a see was the rule of ecclesiastical precedence. For Hefele⁵⁸ quotes a letter of Pope Leo in which the Pontiff declares that there is a difference between the ecclesiastical order and the temporal order, and to the foundation of a Church by the Apostles is due the position it holds in the Hierarchy. Leo opposed the Oriental Bishops in their desire to exalt the see of Constantinople above Alexandria and Antioch (the Roman primacy was inaccurately explained—not disputed), and he shows that secular power could not establish ecclesiastical pre-eminence. We may add also that by the sixth canon of the Council of Nice, to which Pope Leo refers in the condemnation quoted above, the sees of Alexandria and Antioch ranked after Rome. Therefore the theory advanced by Dr. Littledale, that the dignity of the Popes appears as a matter of purely human origin, and that the Bishop of Rome was first simply because

⁵⁷ St. Leo, Epist. cv. ad Pulcheriam Imp. cap. iii. Quoted by Bottalla, *Supreme Authority of the Pope*, p. 102.

⁵⁸ *Histoire des Conciles*, iii. p. 125.

of its civil importance, was authoritatively condemned by the Popes. The twenty-eighth canon of Chalcedon never obtained a place in the canon law either of the West or of the East. The collection of canons down to John Scholasticus and Theodore the Lector only mention twenty-seven canons in Chalcedon. It was not before 1215 that the twenty-eighth canon found insertion among those of the Roman Church. At that date the Fourth Council of Lateran sanctioned in its fifth canon the honorary precedence of that Patriarch over those of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.⁶⁰ Finally, we are quite ready to admit that the Apostles founded Churches in the most important cities, and thus it happened that the capitals of countries and provinces became metropolitan sees. But its rank in the Hierarchy was not because of the civil importance of a see, as Dr. Littledale believes, but because of its Apostolic origin. Thus Rome is for St. Cyprian the *Ecclesia principalis* and the centre of unity, not for the material greatness, but because it is the *Cathedra Petri*.⁶¹ St. Augustine gives also the same reason for the hierarchical position of the Churches—*Dominus fundamenta Ecclesie in Apostolicis sedibus collocavit*, and every Church ought to support itself *per radices Apostolicarum sedium*. With this principle in view, Leo the Great thus writes to the Emperor Marcian: "Anatolius of Constantinople ought to be satisfied as Bishop of the Imperial residence, for he cannot possibly make of Constantinople an Apostolic See." Rome, Antioch, Jerusalem, were all important centres chosen by the Apostles as sees for the easier and more rapid diffusion of the Gospel; their position in the Hierarchy was traced to their Apostolic origin, and not to their wealth, power, or number of inhabitants. Still less, as we have already shown, was the primacy due to Rome being an Imperial city. When Dr. Littledale, in p. 160, explains the well-known expression of St. Irenæus⁶²—that every Church should come to Rome because of its superior dignity—as indicating superiority merely on the score of temporal greatness, he does so on his own authority, without shadow or vestige of proof. And when Dr. Littledale informs his readers⁶³ that the human authority and origin of the Papacy is proved by its being an intermittent office, filled and conferred by merely human election, he contradicts Scripture and the teaching of the Fathers.

M. GAVIN.

⁶⁰ Conc. Lat. iv. can. 5, Labbe, t. xiii. p. 938. See Hergenröther's *Anti-Janus*, translated by Robertson, p. 138; Bottalla, *Supreme Authority of the Pope*, p. 104.

⁶¹ Epist. lii. p. 86.

⁶² *Adv. Har.* iii. 3.

⁶³ P. 160, note.

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NOTES ON THE PRESS.

ANGLICAN PRISONERS FOR CONSCIENCE' SAKE.

THERE is a story, in the History of the Fathers of the Desert, of a good hermit who enjoyed a very high reputation for sanctity, and had in consequence great influence with the Prefect or Governor of Egypt under the Christian Emperors. A nephew of this holy man committed some offence against the laws, and fell into the hands of justice. The mother of the young man ran off to her brother the hermit, and begged him to intercede with the Prefect for a remission of the punishment due to the offence which had been committed. The hermit, in answer to her petition, sent a letter to the Prefect, but not quite in the terms which the good mother of the offender desired. The saint begged the Prefect to punish the offence to the utmost of its deserts, in order that the young man might be corrected, and not have to suffer for his crime in the next world.

We fear that the spirit of this good servant of God is not at all prevalent among the members of the Anglican communion. From the Archbishop of Canterbury downwards, there is a *consensus* of opinion and of feeling against the punishment of offenders against the laws of the Establishment as declared by the authoritative tribunals of that communion. It matters little whether the person who expresses this feeling belong to the party who approve of the eccentricities of Mr. Green and his companions or not. It may be no matter for regret that the Anglicans have laid aside their old persecuting temper. In the good old days of Queen Elizabeth and Kings James and Charles, there was no compassion of this kind in the bosoms of Anglican bishops and Anglican laymen. The men who were the most active persecutors of the Catholic clergy were the predecessors of Dr. Tait and Dr. Jackson in the sees of Canter-

bury and London, and they were urgent for the execution of the laws of that time, not against peccant members of their own communion, but against men with whom they had nothing to do, the adherents of the ancient faith which had been supplanted by Anglicanism. Those men saw no harm in subjecting Catholic priests, and those who followed their teaching or assisted at their celebrations, to penalties very different indeed from those to which the comfortable martyrs of Ritualism are exposed.

So far, then, it is a matter for rejoicing that we see the old bloodthirstiness of the Establishment laid aside. Perhaps it is not altogether discarded even now in relation to the Catholic Church. Perhaps if the rack and gibbet are no longer active at the instigation of Anglican prelates, we might find something at least of the spirit which took delight at their use in the treatment of converts by Anglican clergymen, and in the measures which they do not scruple to recommend or to sanction when some poor wife or daughter of an Anglican parson or country gentleman has committed the abominable crime of submitting to the teaching of Catholicism. But as regards offenders within their own pale, so to speak, the amiable temper of the Anglican authorities contrasts favourably with the traditional principles of the Establishment. It is very sad to see the law broken, but it is still sadder, so it appears, to see the offenders punished by the law. Now, we fear that this by no means impartial and universal tenderness is a sign of something else beside an increase of sensibility to suffering for conscience' sake. It is a sign, surely, of a growing toleration for liberty in general—except always liberty to submit to the Church. And it is a sign of great indifference to dogmatic truth in particular—for it is the doctrine of Anglicanism with regard to the momentous question of the Real Presence or Real Absence, and not simply "ritual," which is concerned in cases like that of Mr. Green.

Now it will strike the impartial looker on, perhaps, that respect for conscience is one thing and laxity as to all law is another. No one can doubt that Mr. Green, and others like him, sincerely believe that their own interpretation of a certain rubrical direction of their prayer-book is the correct one. But no one can doubt, on the other hand, that the law of the Establishment has been declared by the courts to be contrary to Mr. Green's interpretation, and that that gentleman's steady refusal to give up that interpretation in practice constitutes the true offence for which he suffers.

The case is really the commonest case in the world. There are scores of litigants or accused persons every year in the country, who take a different view of the law from that propounded by the tribunals to which they have recourse. Sensible and conscientious men submit to the decision of their own tribunals, or leave the community in which those tribunals administer the law. In this case the decision of the tribunals happens to be in accordance with the unbroken practice of centuries, with the all but universal practice of the best Anglicans themselves, and with direct doctrinal declarations, to which Mr. Green, as well as thousands of others, has given an assent we have no doubt as honest and conscientious as are his views as to the interpretation of the ornaments rubric. Mr. Green is bound before God and man to the doctrinal statement that the Mass is a "blasphemous fable and dangerous deceit," and that the Adorable Body of our Lord is in Heaven, and not on the Communion-table at the time of Communion. These statements, which Mr. Green, of course, honestly believes to be Gospel truths—if he did not, he would not be a member of the Anglican clergy—might go far to reconcile him to a decision which simply expresses them. What reason has he for refusing to lay aside his chasuble, if he sincerely holds the Anglican doctrine which makes the chasuble a mere bit of meaningless decoration? And if he does not hold the Anglican doctrine, he has something far more important to think about than how to get back to Miles Platting. The Anglican doctrine, witnessed to by all the Anglican formularies, has been expressed in action by the disuse of the old sacrificial vestments at the time of the celebration of the Anglican Communion for many generations. The courts have now declared this disuse to be imperative instead of simply an universal practice, and no one can deny that in doing this the courts have either declared law or made law, entirely in harmony with the traditions and general feeling of the Anglican body. The more clearly it is proved that the letter of the rubric is in favour of the Ritualist interpretation, all the more clear does it also become that the letter of the rubric has never been observed in the Establishment, and that the only reason that can be assigned for the retention of the letter is the very simple one, that as it was universally disregarded, and had been universally disregarded for many generations, it was not worth any one's trouble to move for its formal expunction.

Now, if the letter of a law becomes thus practically repealed in a living body, with the cognizance and without the resistance of the authorities of that living body, it becomes absurd to consider it as any longer binding. Mr. Green's contention is that it is binding on his conscience—and if on his, then on that of all the Anglican clergy. He would not go to prison merely for a prescription which it was open for him to observe or not to observe. He puts himself, with his few companions in Ritualist observances on one side, and the whole body of his communion on the other—including men like Dr. Pusey, Mr. Keble, Canon Liddon—and he declares that he alone is right, and they all are wrong. This was his position as long as there was no decision against him. Since that time, his position has been that of one who defies the law, and is punished in consequence. It is not the case, as Dr. Pusey has lately said, that Mr. Green is imprisoned for "not being able to read a not" into the ornaments rubric. He is imprisoned for not choosing to obey a decision of the court, which, if you like, has "read a not into" that rubric, but which has the practical authority of Dr. Pusey's own life-long practice, as well as of a thousand Anglicans as good as he, for doing so. And as to "reading nots into" or out of documents, people who live in houses of glass should not throw stones. There is no more flagrant and apposite instance of this process than that of Dr. Pusey and Mr. Green themselves, with regard to the statements of the prayer-book which deny the Real Presence. The rubric says our Lord's Body "*is not here,*" and these gentlemen leave out the "*not,*" and declare that *It is here*. If they are asked why they go against the plain letter of their formularies, they will probably answer that these formularies are to be explained harmoniously, not one taken by itself, and that there are reasons, to be found elsewhere, for thinking that the words in question are not meant to exclude altogether the belief in the Real Presence. That is, they explain their "reading out" of "the not" in the black rubric, very much in the same way as the lawyers who are responsible for the anti-Ritualist decisions about vestments, and the like, explain their "reading in" the not into the ornaments rubric. We are not concerned to go into any examination of the explanations in one case or in the other. But in the one case they are the explanations of responsible men, who have been called to discharge a great judicial duty to the best of their ability, and in the other they are the interpretations of private theologians, or

so-called theologians. We see no reason for impugning the honesty of either set of men. But it is a lamentable sight to see the leaders of the once great High Church party reduced to the scattering broadcast of insinuations against the personal honesty of the judges of the highest of their own tribunals, while they themselves are liable to exactly the same charges, with regard to their own interpretations of their formularies, as those which they bring against the interpretations adopted by those judges.

Catholics do not pretend to be well-wishers to the Anglican Establishment, which is the most powerful antagonist to Catholicism in the British Empire. But we do claim to be well-wishers to the scores and hundreds and thousands of honest-minded men who are, for no fault of their own, members by birth of that Establishment, and we note, in consequence, with alarm and sorrow, the growth among them of a spirit of almost childish petulance with regard to the authorities of what they have been taught to believe is the true Church of God. The line now taken is not manly—it wastes power on words when the time requires deeds. No amount of railing will set Mr. Green free, nor would his freedom bring the Anglican law one jot more into harmony with Catholic doctrine than it is. It is really pitiable to see the High Churchmen complaining of unfair treatment, on the ground that Low Churchmen are allowed to do as they like. This is not the language of people who believe in a Church which has a Divine mission, and which commits treason against God if it tolerates alike false doctrine and true. It is the language of men who acknowledge themselves members of a purely human institution, the principle of which is not truth, but compromise. It is the language of the men of the nineteenth century, drifting fast and far into universal scepticism and indifference. The appeal to the country, for it is nothing less, which the English Church Union has lately made, calling for agitation of almost every kind, for the purpose of setting Mr. Green free, proceeds simply on the ground that he ought not to be imprisoned for not obeying the law. The far more momentous question of how the law of the Anglican communion comes to be in direct contradiction to vital Christian truth is left aside. The object is to secure, not orthodox law, but individual liberty against the present law. It has come to this, that what is desired is that there should either be no law at all, or that it should not be enforced. The High Church people actually boast that they are more tolerant of what they consider

false and heretical doctrine than the Evangelicals are. The Church Association firmly believe Mr. Green to be a heretic, and they take steps to get him silenced. They are called savage and spiteful for their pains. We are left to infer that, in the opinion of the High Church party, it is less wicked to let false "doctrine" be taught in the Church, than to try to deliver from it the souls that it may ruin, if that deliverance is to be brought about by law.

It is also clear that, as to this particular care of the Ritualist clergymen, there is a continual ignoring of the question in all that has proceeded from this party for some time past. There is little doubt that a man like Dr. Pusey might be very well able to persuade Mr. Green—not, as he says, "to own in fact that he did amiss in following a distinct direction of the Prayer Book"—no one requires this of Mr. Green—but to say that he will for the future obey the law in a matter in which Dr. Pusey's own practice follows that law, as declared by the courts, and not Mr. Green's interpretation of it, and on which, therefore, Dr. Pusey himself is at variance with Mr. Green as to the obligation of the practice which the law has condemned. It would seem very natural that, as Dr. Pusey does not think it a matter incumbent on his conscience, to wear nothing but the vestments of a certain year of King Edward at the celebration of Holy Communion, he might see his way to persuading Mr. Green to admit it to be, what he himself considers it, a matter of indifference. But it suits Dr. Pusey much better, at present, to encourage the feeling of discontent and insubordination in the Establishment, and this on a point as to which he cannot say that he agrees with Mr. Green.

What we have said of Dr. Pusey must be said also, we are sorry to say, of the distinguished layman, to whom the letter of Dr. Pusey to which we are now referring has been addressed. Mr. Charles Wood, moreover, has touched us Catholics nearly in a letter to the *Church Times*, in which he ventures to put Mr. Green and his associates on a level with the Catholic sufferers for the faith in the days of Queen Elizabeth. "In the reign of Queen Elizabeth," he says, "it was death for a priest to celebrate the Holy Eucharist in Latin, according to the old English use, with the ornaments legal in the last year of Henry the Eighth. In the reign of Queen Victoria it is imprisonment and deprivation to celebrate the Holy Eucharist in English, according to the use prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer, with the orna-

ments legal in the second year of King Edward the Sixth. . . . Be it so. The Anglican clergy, like their Roman brethren, will know how to suffer, and with the same result. They will win back for us the free exercise of those rights of which we are now deprived. . . . If any one supposes we of the laity can long maintain our enthusiasm on behalf of a state of things in which our priests are to be imprisoned, our sacraments to be degraded, and ourselves to be forbidden the use of those external marks of reverence by which the Church symbolises her belief in the presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar, they make—(*sic*)—a very great mistake."

We must really object to the parallel which Mr. Wood here suggests. The Catholic priests who suffered death in the reign of Queen Elizabeth suffered it at the hands of a hostile creed, not in consequence of the decisions of a court of their own archbishops. They had never pledged themselves to the Royal Supremacy, to obedience to the laws which they were condemned for violating, nor had they ever declared most solemnly that the Sacrifice of the Mass was a blasphemous fable. They had never the option of opening their prison doors in a moment, by simply undertaking to celebrate the Eucharist in the manner in which all the prelates and priests of their own communion had celebrated for centuries, or by simply resigning their place as Anglican incumbents. "Our prisons," says Dr. Pusey to Mr. Wood, "are pleasant places, which cannot be named in the same breath with those loathsome places in which St. Paul approved himself by 'imprisonments.'" We may add, they are very pleasant places indeed, compared to the prisons in the Tower and elsewhere, where the Catholic priests suffered. We hear of no torture, no "scavenger's daughter," and the like. Indeed, the chief inconvenience which Mr. Green seems to have suffered beyond that of detention, seems to have affected his family rather than himself, for his own property has been sold to pay certain costs which might as well have been defrayed by a cheque on the well-filled coffers of the English Church Union. Apart from this—a calamity in which the Catholic priests in the reign of Elizabeth could not precede him, having no wives and families to suffer for them vicariously—we do not see much hardship that has as yet been inflicted on Mr. Green. We altogether reject Mr. Wood's parallel—though, if he will excuse us so great a liberty, we venture to take it as an intimation that, if he had lived in the days of Queen Elizabeth,

he would have been glad to cast in his lot with the Catholic martyrs. But if that is really in his heart, there is a much more direct and practical way of showing it, than by agitating for universal licence in the Communion which, before God and man, is responsible for their blood.

REVIEWS.

1. *Tractatus de Veneratione et Invocatione Sanctorum, de Veneratione reliquiarum et imaginum, etc., Commentarii de Impedimentis Matrimonii dirimentibus.* Auctore Patricio Murray, Sac. Theol. et Juris Canon. Professore. Dublinii: M. H. Gill et Filius.

THEOLOGIANS will hail with pleasure another handsome volume of theological literature from the fertile pen of Dr. Murray. For nearly half a century this learned doctor has been enriching the theological and literary world by his writings and by his teaching, and he is amongst us to-day, bowed indeed with the weight of years, but young with the youth of his mental powers. Since his first essay on "Satisfaction," written for the *Dublin Review* about forty years ago, down to the present time he has been most uncompromising in his war against heretics. He measured swords successfully with Dr. Whately, the late Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, who it must be admitted was a subtle logician and a pleasing rhetorician. He was equally successful in answering Dr. O'Brien, quondam Professor of Divinity in Trinity College, and late Protestant Bishop, or, as Dr. Murray used to call him, Protestant overseer of Ossory. We know of no more able refutation of the heretical doctrine on Grace than that given by Dr. Murray in the *Dublin Review* of October, 1868, under the headings, "Dr. O'Brien on Justifying Faith: its nature and effects." Nor did our great essayist Macaulay escape his untiring pen. We have often wished that Dr. Murray would publish a selection of his articles in so convenient a form as to place them within reach of the general reader. Although he has reached the ripe age of seventy, yet in the work before us we recognize the same scholastic vigour, the same lucidity and order, which distinguished his *Tractatus de Ecclesia Christi*. With regard to the work now under consideration it is to be regretted that tracts so uncongenial with each other as the *Impediments of Matrimony* and the *Veneration of the Saints* should have been inserted in one volume. There

are many persons to whom a knowledge of the former would be worthless, whilst their education would be incomplete without a fair amount of information regarding the latter. It is also a matter of regret that the former is not written in the vernacular, and for two reasons. First, because this very important subject would have been brought within reach of the general reader, and again, because there are few men of the present age so qualified to clothe in popular English the difficult questions of the schools. For three years Dr. Murray filled the chair of *Belles-Lettres* at Maynooth, and sometimes, we believe, he has expressed a seeming regret that he did not retain the position. The treatise *De Veneratione Sanctorum*, &c., he divides into six disputations, commencing each one by an explanation of the terminology, and of the state of the question. Then follow arguments from reason, Scripture, and the Fathers in proof of the several propositions. The proofs from reason enable us to appreciate better the Scriptural arguments which are then sure to produce their full effect. Dr. Murray's quotations from the Fathers remove any doubt as to the soundness or correctness of the interpretation of Scripture adopted by him. Finally we meet with a merciless refutation of objections, and we have seldom seen objections so ably answered as in the works of Dr. Murray. Difficulties at first sight insurmountable, disappear before his clear distinctions, when he meets the objections of adversaries in true syllogistic form by a *distinguo majorem* and *nego minorem*. His first proposition maintains that "the religious veneration of saints is lawful and useful." This he proves from the common consent of nations of every age and clime in giving honour (*cultus civilis*) to men on account of some excellence which they have possessed. So much is this the case, that those who would act otherwise lay themselves open to the charge of malevolence and misanthropy. And if it is lawful and laudable to venerate men on account of some excellence, for a greater reason is it lawful and laudable to venerate the saints. Again, God honours the saints, and by so honouring He signifies to us that we ought to venerate them. The first proposition is manifest from ninety texts of Scripture. The second is founded on a principle arising from the universal usage of all times and countries. Were a king to elevate a subject to a peerage, he would expect others also to honour him. St. Joseph and the Blessed Virgin Mother are examples confirmatory of this. We read in Genesis how Pharaoh

raised Joseph to the highest position in the land, and sent a herald to cry out that all might genuflect before him. But a more startling illustration is to be found in that most beautiful of canticles the *Magnificat*: "For behold from this all generations shall call me blessed, for He Who is powerful has made me great." Why shall all generations so honour her by calling her blessed? *Because (ὅτι, quia)* He Who is powerful has made me great. In his extracts from the Fathers he mentions an interesting coincidence, in effect that Julian the Apostate advanced the same calumny against the veneration of saints which Protestants do in our own day, namely, that Catholics give to saints Divine worship and make them gods. Nearly all the objections urged against the doctrine stated, are the hackneyed ones of Luther, Calvin, Beza, Knox, and other Protestant leaders. These objections have been again and again exploded by our own theologians, and yet they are urged to-day by Protestants with as much zeal and more of the *odium theologicum* than they were in the days of the great so-called Reformers. But there is one objection to which we must call attention, inasmuch as it is brought forward as unanswerable against the Catholic doctrine. We read in the nineteenth chapter of the Apocalypse: "And I fell before his feet to adore him, and he saith to me, See thou do it not, I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren who have the testimony of Jesus. Adore God, for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy." Dr. Murray gives several answers to the objection drawn from this text. But perhaps the best, certainly the most amusing, is that whereby he converts an objection into a most convincing proof. He argues thus: St. John knowingly gave religious *cultus* to the Angel, which he would not have done had the act been unlawful. The first proposition is the thesis of the adversaries. The second proposition he proves by impaling the objectors on the horns of a dilemma. If veneration of this kind were unlawful, then St. John either knowingly violated the law forbidding it, or he was ignorant of that law. If he knowingly violated the law then he was guilty of idolatry, or at least of grievous sin; if unknowingly, then he was in disgraceful and gross ignorance of the law of God. And so the great doctor annihilates Tyler of Oxford, Whately of Dublin, and Gayer of the *Catholic Layman*.

Dr. Murray passes, by an easy transition, to the second proposition, which says that the *Invocation* of Saints is lawful

and useful. His proofs easily carry conviction with them. It is lawful and useful for the faithful to ask their brethren to pray for them. But the reason why this is lawful and useful avails equally, if not more so, in favour of the invocation of saints. The first proposition is and must be admitted by his adversaries. For St. Paul says: "I beseech you therefore, brethren, through our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the charity of the Holy Ghost, that you assist me in your prayers for me to God."¹ Again, continues the doctor, the angels pray for us, guard us, defend us, and show the greatest anxiety for our welfare. And these kind offices God has revealed to us. But God by so making them known signifies the liberty and utility of invoking their aid. St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Ambrose, and St. Jerome are here called in to the assistance of Dr. Murray. Throughout the learned doctor seems to recognize them, to ask their assistance as old, but by no means lost or forgotten, friends. There are only two objections against this proposition worthy of notice—one, by reason of its great popularity, yet glaring absurdity; the other because it has the appearance of being a serious difficulty. Idle is your invocation of saints, say Protestants, if they cannot hear you. They forget the transcendent faculties of the angels, so beautifully described by Lessius; they forget that it is not necessary that the saints should hear us in order that they may assist us; for, could they not assist those unknown and unheeded, even as we pray for unknown benefactors and for Christians who ask us, though we never hear them. They forget that they cannot prove their assertion, namely, that the angels cannot hear us, because the way in which pure spirits comprehend is quite unknown to them. But their chief objection, than which "there cannot be a clearer and fuller proof," says Freeman, is taken from the First Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy: "For there is one God, and one *mediator* of God and man, the Man Christ Jesus." That there is but one mediator of the *redemption* Dr. Murray admits, that there is only one mediator of *intercession* he denies. The words of the context, "Who gave Himself a redemption for all," clearly show that the *mediator* mentioned in the text is a mediator of redemption and not of intercession. Again, if Christ were the only mediator of intercession, then it would follow that it is not lawful for man to ask the prayers of his fellow-man—a conclusion which the adversaries deny. Moreover, in the second chapter, the very one from which they

¹ Romans xv. 30.

draw their so-called unanswerable objection, St. Paul recommends that prayers be said for all men: "I desire, therefore, first of all, that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings be made for all men."

In the third disputation we have a striking example of the way Dr. Murray makes use of the mode of acting adopted by his adversaries as an argument against them. We give religious *cultus* to the relics of Christ and His Saints. For this our adversaries blame us, although they themselves give civil *cultus* to the relics of remarkable men. What strange inconsistency! To show the *cultus* given by Protestants to the relics of reputed celebrities, Dr. Murray gives some very amusing extracts, which we copy: "He [Bunyan] was buried in Bunhill Fields; and the spot where he lies is still regarded by Nonconformists with a feeling which seems scarcely in harmony with the stern spirit of their theology. Many puritans to whom the respect paid by Roman Catholics to the relics and tombs of saints seemed childish or sinful are said to have begged with their dying breath that their coffins might be placed as near as possible to the coffin of the author of the *Pilgrim's Progress*."²

"A fragment of the rock on which the Deliverer [William the Third landing at Torbay] stepped from his boat has been carefully preserved, and is set up as an object of *public veneration* in the centre of the busy wharf."³

"The arm-chair of Gustavus was purchased for 58,000 florins; Napoleon's coat for £150; that of Charles the Twelfth for £22,000; a tooth of Newton for £730; a cane of Voltaire for 500 francs; the vest of Rousseau for 959 francs; the wig of Sterne for 200 guineas; Napoleon's hat for 1,920 francs."⁴

That the religious veneration of sacred images is lawful and useful, Dr. Murray proves from a universal principle of our nature. This principle impels us to give veneration to images of persons in proportion to their dignity or species of excellence. Again, the ark of the covenant was an image, or rather a sacred symbol. Moses, Josue, the elders of Israel, David, and the whole house of Israel venerated it. And Almighty God Himself honoured it in many ways. The objections against this proposition are not worthy of notice.

The fifth disputation is a pithy explanation of the doctrine of the *Cross*, with a brief solution of difficulties. The cross can

² Macaulay, *Life of John Bunyan*.

³ Macaulay, *History of England*.

⁴ *Life and Labours of St. Thomas of Aquin*, by Very Rev. Roger Bede Vaughan.

be viewed under three aspects: (*a*) that on which Christ was crucified, in other words, the true Cross; (*b*) an image of the true Cross, whether painted or sculptured; (*c*) the sign of the cross, which the faithful make before and after prayer, &c.

The sixth and last disputation contains some valuable information regarding the questions treated in the preceding chapters. Though added in the modest form of an appendix, the theologian would find in it many useful suggestions, and the preacher who has carefully studied it might rely on using proper terminology when explaining this difficult question to his people.

The second part of this volume deals exclusively with the diriment impediments of matrimony. It is not our intention to make remarks on the treatment of each; but we cannot help saying that Dr. Murray is not equal to himself in dealing with the impediments of matrimony. He seems to be shorn of that strength which he shows in his dogmatic works. There is a want of the clearness so characteristic of all his other writings. Let us hope that Dr. Murray may be spared many years to enrich the theological world with the fruits of his learning.

J. C.

2. *Six Months in Mecca.* By T. F. Keane (Hajj Mohammed Amin). London: Tinsley Brothers.

Various circumstances have of late years drawn more than ordinary attention to the great Mohammedan Pilgrimage to Mecca, so that Mr. Keane's narrative of his six months' experience in that town as a pilgrim is especially well-timed. Our author is very brief in the introduction of his subject, and he is succinct throughout in his descriptions, which bear upon them great marks of genuineness, though it is difficult to imagine how he himself could have escaped detection in carrying out the part which he had assumed. We shall be as succinct in extracting from his pages a short sketch of this striking annual pilgrimage.

Arrived at Jeddah, Mr. Keane joined the train of a youthful Hindi Amér, a Mohammedan native of India, who had property and was under feudal subjection to one of its princes. After performing an ablution of the entire person and putting on the pilgrim garb, a piece of light-coloured cotton fabric passed round the body over the left shoulder, leaving the right arm bare, with another fastened round the loins, he took his place in the large caravan, mounted on a camel along with

one of the three armed retainers of the Amér. A march occupying from an hour before sunset to daybreak next morning brought them in sight of Mecca, after travelling about twenty miles towards the east, and soon the narrowing streets led downhill into the square enclosed for public worship as containing the Kaabah, or Moslem Holy of Holies, which it behoves every Mussulman to have visited once in his life. Close to this the whole party of about fifty persons was to lodge. The forms and ceremonies prescribed on arriving were two prostration prayers in two different parts of the square or Haram, a rapid walk round the Kaabah seven times, kissing the Black Stone and touching another let into a corner of the building, and a circuit seven times repeated through the streets reciting certain prayers, for about a third of a mile. All these were in addition to the ordinary daily five prayers and ablutions in the Zem Zem, or Hagar's-well, and were concluded by a ceremonial shaving of the head.

After an interval of some days came the end of the Fast Ramazan, followed by a great Three Days' Feast, when thirty thousand persons used to assemble at the evening prayer, bearded, turbaned men, as with one voice crying out, "God is great!" They simultaneously bent their faces to the earth, and their dresses and turbans of every brightest and most richly variegated hue flashed in waves of colour across the golden rays of the sunset. The Haram is naturally the main feature of Mecca. It is a large quadrangular open space enclosed within four arched arcades, one hundred and ninety yards on the longest sides, by one hundred and twenty seven on the shortest. The arcades are twenty-five feet high, and have a row of little domes running along the centre of the top, which is fifty feet wide. There are six tall minarets round the outside, each over one hundred and fifty feet in height. Across the gravelled square pathways lead to a plain central unadorned oblong of cyclopean masonry, thirty-eight feet by thirty square, and forty feet high. This is covered with a heavy black cloth, having a good deal of silk in its texture, and at a distance of ten feet from the top a band passes round it, nearly two and-a-half feet deep, richly worked in bullion, with the Mohammedan profession of faith, the whole of the black cloth being damasked with the same characters. Three Turkish forts on the highest points of the hills around command the town, covering its three principal approaches.

The Kaabah is called the "Centre of the World," and towards it Mohammedans in all parts of the earth face when praying. It is entered from the street by doorways of different sizes, the Gate of Abraham on the west being high and arched, and really fine. The roof is supported on three rows of thirty-six pillars on the longer side, and twenty-four on the other; the capitals of all are carved with flower, scroll, or angular devices. The roof consists of rows of arches, while arches from the pillars divide the ceiling into a line of small domes, but without any real order or symmetry. From the top of each transverse arch a large globe lamp is suspended by a brass chain, and under the inner row of arches are five lamps to each arch. The square is gravelled and partitioned into narrow pavements. Across the eastern and western ends of the square are three bronze date trees about twelve feet high, with lamps hanging to the ends of their leaves. Stacks of earthenware bottles contain water of the Zem Zem for the use of pilgrims. The Kaabah is attributed to the direction and in part actual workmanship of Abraham. A round hole in the covering of the Kaabah, about five feet in circumference, discloses the "Black Stone" set in a deep silver rim, and about the size of a man's head. It is in every respect exactly similar, except bulk, to a large piece of obsidian taken from Hecla, and now in the British Museum. The walls of the building are painted or whitewashed indiscriminately in patches of black, mauve, Indian red, and yellow. Large whitened spaces are also occupied with chapters of the Koran. The domed ceiling is simply whitewashed, and a gang of sweepers clean out the whole place twice a day. Jebel Nur, nearly four miles to the north-east, is a steep conical hill, about nine hundred feet above the sand-level. Here Mohammed is supposed to have received his first inspired message. In two small caves on the same hill he concealed himself when driven from Mecca. About the same distance south-east of Mecca lies a deep pool, one hundred feet by fifty feet square, visited by pilgrims because it was a favourite resort for prayer used by "the Prophet."

As the time approached for going out to Mount Arafat, for six feet all round the lower part of the covering of the Kaabah was lifted up and replaced by white calico, contrasting well with the black and gold. Pilgrims were arriving in crowds, all the caravans having come in, and the town was so densely packed that there was scarcely standing room in some of the

streets. Representatives of Turks, Arabs, Hindis, Malays, Negroes, Persians, Maghribis, Egyptians, Syrians, Tartars, Bedawins, all were there, besides a nondescript gathering from China, the West Coast of Africa, Russia, Afghanistan, &c. Friday, December 14th, was the day of march to Arafat, in the year 1877. Within twenty-four hours this army of two hundred thousand souls had turned its back on Mecca, almost to a man, in a state of universal confusion, for the pilgrimage represents Mahommed's flight from the town. It took two hours to get through the streets thronged with camels, the current at last pushing itself out into the open country. Stalls and rows of provisions along the roadside gave to everything the appearance of a fair. After halting for the night at the village of Muna, five miles from Mecca, the crowds proceeded at eight next morning to the plain of Arafat, a large sandy expanse some four or five miles square. Mount Arafat is a small hill composed of large masses of gray granite, at the base of a good high mountain, named the "Mount of Mercy." The practice of the pilgrims was to go up the hill, say one or two prayers, and then return to the plain, as far as it was possible for them to force their way through the crush of thousands. At a preconcerted signal, as it appeared, the men took off their upper pieces of cloth and waved them excitedly about, shouting out "Allah!" "Mohammed!" After half an hour the Pacha's two guns were fired, when tents began at once to be razed and camels moved, breechloaders were discharged and rockets sent up, and all were *en route* homeward. The camp was pitched at night at Muzdalifah before getting to Mecca, in order that the sixty-three small stones might be selected which were to be thrown at the devil-stones of Muna.

On the completion of this last act in the pilgrimage the Kaabah receives a new covering, sent from Cairo, and supposed to have been made there by seven hundred virgins; and each pilgrim is expected to slay in sacrifice one animal, generally a young male sheep or goat. During his stay in Mecca our adventurer had two very narrow escapes. On the first occasion he was pelted and pursued by a whole school of boys as an infidel dog of a Christian, and on the second, within a short time of his leaving, he introduced himself to a man who had put the word *LODGINGS* over his door. "'Good morning,' said I. 'What, do you speak English?' he replied. We stood for some moments looking at one another, and I thought I

had taken the fellow's measure to be the right sort, and was just on the point of opening out and declaring myself, when he said: 'You are not an Englishman, are you?' with a gravity that gave me my cue. I replied in the vilest half-caste Indian dialect I could muster: 'Oh, yes, I am Englishman. I am speaking the English very well.' This and a happy unconscious air banished any suspicions of such a possibility he might have had for the moment. Yet he said: 'Englishmen turn Mohammedans and come here and see what we do, and go back and write books. There are three here now with iron collars round their necks chained among the hills.'" Though the Englishman felt that his friend had told a lie, the "happy unconscious air" must have been rather hard to maintain. After accepting the Amér's offer to return to India, the permission was recalled, and he at first thought of making a secret moonlight flitting of it with the donkeys to Jeddah. But he tossed up a dollar to settle the point, and twice out of three times were for the Amér, Medinah, and the tomb of Mohammed. Whereupon followed such a succession of incredible adventures that he hesitates to publish them, at all events till he has tested the success of his first venture. And here we must leave our author, hoping some day to hear more of him.

3. *In the Ardennes.* By Katharine S. Macquoid. London: Chatto and Windus.

This is in some respects a companion book to Mr. Capper's *Shores and Cities of the Bodén Sea*, reviewed in our last number, although its more deeply-shaded woodcuts are expressive of a difference in the subjects treated. We have not in the Ardennes the châteaux of Lake Constance rivalling with their multiform roofs and gables the many peaked ridges on which they are built. We have rather the wild valley or bare hillside, the forest glade thick set with gnarled and massive stems, and the straggling, unromantic looking villages, presided over by some huge rock bearing its crown of heavy and compact ruins. As almost every castle has its traditions, some marvellous or tragic event associated with its past history, Mrs. Macquoid's chapters abound in knightly romance or saintly legend. The traveller through the Ardennes must make up his mind to rough it, that penalty he has to pay for seeking out untrodden paths in the picturesque nooks and corners even of Europe.

But if he can put up with simple fare, humble lodging, and primitive modes of conveyance, he will find himself amply rewarded by discovering "a mine of unvisited loveliness," as he wanders among its green valleys between ranges of lofty hills or climbs its strangely shaped rocky heights. At every eight or ten miles distance he will light upon some quaint village or town nestling under the shelter of the rocks, and offering him a good supper and bed. What an atmosphere of adventure and romance lingers round the ruined towers of Crèvecoeur and Mont Orgueil, Montaigle and Bouillon, Vève-Celles, and La Roche. What a quaint old-fashioned life is that spent within the walls of Dinant and Bourigues, Vianden, and Diekirch. How grand a field for the pedestrian must be the heart of the Ardennes, and the valleys of the Amblève and the Sure. Mrs. Macquoid and her husband have certainly convinced us that a visit to the Ardennes would be most enjoyable.

4. *Strictly tied up.* A novel. London: Hurst and Blackett.

The name of the author to whom this novel is accredited has brought it into considerable request; its intrinsic merits, however, scarcely justify the interest felt in it. Though written in good and flowing English which marks the man of education, the style is heavy and cumbersome. The telling of a story with effect requires that there should be much variety in its handling. While on the contrary a continued strain of would-be playful banter, a very unusual absence of dialogue, wherein the characters reveal and develop themselves, and the substitution, instead, of long descriptions of their sayings and doings as in the third person, these soon make a tale grow wearisome. The personages whom the author introduces and often caricatures in the describing, do not live and breathe in his pages, a loss indeed which we regret the less when there is so painful a family likeness amongst them all of vulgarity and unamiableness. The reader looks in vain for even one for whom he feels any affection, or the turn of whose fortunes he can take any interest in tracing out.

NOTICES.

1. *A Book of Rhyme.* By Augusta Webster. London: Macmillan and Co.—These short selected pieces, some new some old, are written by a practised hand. They are light and unpretentious, but remarkable for their easy and graceful melody, while, at the same time, they are instinct with true poetic feeling and quiet strength. Without straining after dramatic effect, a subtle dramatic power presents pictures before the mind in the fewest and simplest words. The writer combines depth and refinement of thought with a rare skill in reading for us its delicate illustration and interpretation in the sights and sounds of nature around us. We have here, besides, the familiar forms of the ode and the sonnet, another less commonly employed, that of *stornelli*—a short poem, or rural picture in verse, a form of Italian origin, and akin to the *rispetto*; it answers to the sly innuendo we wish to convey when we say, "A little bird whispered to me." In each case the subject is completed in six or eight lines, partly of alternate, partly of consecutive, rhymes.

2. *A Mass in the Mountains, and Poems.* By S. M. Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son.—The tale which gives the title to this little book is written to show what slight events may give to those who are busily on the look out an opportunity of perverting the souls of young Catholic children from the faith, and yet how wonderfully and unexpectedly the providence of God sometimes opens out the way to its recovery. That which is described as the occurrence of many years ago touches upon incidents by no means impossible at the present day. The short poems which follow are full of good Catholic thought.

3. *Religion and Mental Culture in Women.* From the French of Mgr. Landriot, Archbishop of Rheims. Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son.—These observations introduce to general attention a very important subject. The Most Rev. Dr. McCabe has written a few lines to express his full sympathy with all that they allege. Mgr. Landriot's arguments are weighty and earnest, even if they be also a little dry and learned.

4. *Our Primates.* A Sermon by the Right Rev. Patrick F. Moran, D.D., Bishop of Ossory. Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son.—This sermon was preached in St. Peter's Church, Drogheda, on the second centenary of Archbishop Plunket's martyrdom at Tyburn, July 11, 1681. Its words are an eloquent exposition of the history of the see of Armagh and of the life and heroic death of the martyr. They tell of his labours, not only in Ireland, but on the western coasts and islands of Scotland, of his patient endurance in the prisons of Dublin and London, and how his calm dignity and heavenly joy at the gallows so impressed the multitude, that many voices exclaimed, "A few more such deaths, and Protestantism will be undone."

